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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# The Metis: Colonization, Culture Change and the Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885

by

Robert J. Devrome

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Metis: Colonization, Culture Change and the Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885" submitted by Robert J. Devrome in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date April 26, 1976.

# ABSTRACT

The contemporary French Metis of western Canada do not live at the same socio-economic level as their Euro-Canadian neighbors. The reasons for these inequities have their origins in the asymmetrical sets of relationships which existed between the Metis and two dominant powers: the Hudson's Bay Company (1821 - 1869) and the government of Canada (1870 - 1885). The role the Metis played within the structure of the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade monopoly was essential to the success of the fur trade. As guides, interpreters and provisioners of fresh buffalo meat and pemmican, the Metis relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company was one of mutual benefit. Historically, this was the high point of Metis culture. Following 1869, the Metis entered into a relationship with the government of Canada. Canada's objectives for the recently acquired North West Territories and Manitoba, were not the same as the objectives which had been held by the Hudson's Bay Company. Canada wanted to open the west to agriculture. Very quickly the Metis were forced to change their lifestyle, if they were to exist as a stable culture. Unable to change, because of a lack of money and technology, the Metis appealed to the territorial and federal governments for assistance. The Metis knew that they had to change from a nomadic, buffalo hunting life-style to that of being sedentary farmers. The federal

government ignored the requests of the Metis and thus provided all the necessary conditions for the Rebellion of 1885. The Metis armed Rebellion of 1885 was an attempt by a subordinate culture to secure an equitable position within a new socio-economic environment.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE PAGE

Introduction: Historical Conditions and Relationships 1

Cultural Stability and Moving Equilibrium: Interpretation.............................. 2

Amalgamation and the Restructuring of the Fur Trade.................................... 5

Adaptation, Confrontation and Coercion......... 6

Historical Antecedents of the 1885 Rebellion......... 9

Literature............................................... 11

Models and Colonial Characteristics.................. 13

Religious/Revitalization Movements.............. 20

Conclusion............................................... 24

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction............................................ 26

The Colonial Situation.............................. 28

Chronology of Events, to 1870......................... 30

Fur Trade Competition: pre-1821..................... 32

Demography.......................................... 33

The Re-organized Hudson's Bay Company................ 35

Field Officers and Profit Sharing.............. 36

Centralization of Authority...................... 38

Strengthening of the Monopoly.................... 39

The Law, Taxation and Conflict................... 41

Labor Supply......................................... 43

PAGE

Transportation.................................. 44

The Cart Trade.................................. 45

The Sternwheelers............................... 46

The Metis and 'The Hunt'........................ 48

Technology and Economics of 'The Hunt'.......... 50

Provisioning the Fur Trade...................... 52

Hunt 'Law'...................................... 53

Education, Racism and Economic Prosperity....... 55

Cultural Stability.............................. 58

Conclusion...................................... 59

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction.................................... 63

Chronology of Events, 1870 - 1885............... 65

The Metis: post - 1870.......................... 67

Racism and Murder............................... 67

Westward Migration.............................. 67

Migration as an Adaptive Measure................ 68

Population and Population Distribution.......... 70

Employment in the Transport Trade............... 75

Canadian Influence.............................. 77

The National Policy............................. 77

The Surveys..................................... 78

Colonization Schemes............................ 79

Large and Small Scale Agriculture............... 81

Ranching........................................ 83

Grain Production................................ 84

PAGE

Transportation.................................. 84

Financial Institutions, Entrepreneurs and Speculators.................................. 85

Decimation of the Buffalo Herds.................................. 88

Total Domination = Total Dependency.................................. 91

The Petitions.................................. 94

Partial Success: St. Laurent.................................. 99

Non-Metis Concern.................................. 101

Louis Riel.................................. 102

The Leader.................................. 102

Open Conflict.................................. 104

Conclusion.................................. 104

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction.................................. 108

Historical Antecedents.................................. 109

Phases of Development.................................. 110

Phase One (1821-1869).................................. 110

Phase Two (1870-1874).................................. 111

Phase Three (1874-1884).................................. 112

Phase Four (1884-1885).................................. 113

The Influence of Riel.................................. 116

The Religious Movement.................................. 117

The Code.................................. 118

Conclusion.................................. 120

PAGE

BIBLIOGRAPHY.................................... 123

APPENDICES

A. A List of Partial and Complete Crop Failures in the Red River Settlement.................... 140

B. List of Rights of the Provisional Government of Red River, March 22, 1870................... 143

C. History of the Halfbreed Claims and Petitions (as prepared by Members of the Metis Association of Alberta, 1935)............................ 147

D. Halfbreed Commission Settlements - 1929......... 178

E. Report of John Bain, of Ottawa, to the Government of Alberta Relating to the Alienation by the Dominion Government of Lands and Natural Resources situated within the Province, 1919.............. 180

# CHAPTER ONE

> A religious phenomenon may be explained only in so far as it is possible to trace its historical origin and development and to analyze it systematically in relation to concrete secular conditions. These conditions may be described as the existential experiences to which human society is bound at any given historical moment, and which in turn give rise to cultural exigencies which apply likewise to that particular moment. These experiences and exigencies are to be found at the root of every religious manifestation (Lanternari, 1963: vi).

## INTRODUCTION: Historical Conditions and Relationships

The connection drawn by Lanternari between religious phenomena, culture change and historical events did not have direct reference to the French Metis. However, his explanation of a "religious phenomenon" is directly applicable to the Metis experience to 1885: the Riel led Rebellion of 1885 was a religious expression of a conflict of cultures, which had historical antecedents. More specifically, when the secular means to resolve the the primary question of rights to land proved inadequate, the Metis movement took on a religious orientation, which justified the use of violence to achieve the group's goals in regard to land. The Metis strategy for achieving these goals had centered around an adaptive process which changed their life-style from that of nomadic hunters to that of a sedentary people practicing agriculture and animal husbandry. Denied the opportunity to achieve the desired changes, the French Metis were forced to rebel.

The execution of Louis Riel on November 16, 1885, in the town of Regina, North West Territories, signified the end of a historical period. The end of the Rebellion saw the French Metis culture alienated from full participation in the social and economic development of the western plains, with ramifications which can be seen in contemporary western Canada.

## Cultural Stability and Moving Equilibrium: Interpretation

Prior to the early 1880's, the Metis of western Canada had coexisted with powerful institutions such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the government of Canada, in a milieu characterized by a set of asymmetrical socio-economic relationships. They were relationships in which the dominant Hudson's Bay Company and the government of Canada could and did exercise unilateral decision-making, to achieve political and economic objectives for the area. The Hudson's Bay Company controlled the region up until 1869, when it sold its interests to the Dominion of Canada.

Despite its subordinate political and economic position, a stable Metis culture evolved, which could be categorized as being in a "state of moving equilibrium".

(Wallace, 1961: 142). Wallace describes this as:

> ..an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure. The inputs, in this case, are accepted innovations, acquired by invention, acculturation, or diffusion; the outputs, abandoned elements of culture. The quantity of organization of the system (the product of its complexity and its orderliness) remains relatively constant, or increases or decreases slowly (Wallace, 1961: 142).

As will be pointed out in the following chapters, the Metis' cultural stability flourished and then declined when a state of moving equilibrium could no longer be maintained.

The early period of European fur trade activity in the plains and woodlands of western Canada was not opposed by the Indian inhabitants of the region. The Indian's desire to acquire the European's technologically sophisticated hunting and domestic equipment reduced the possibility of open conflict, which otherwise may have arisen out of inequities in the fur trade. Although there was little organized opposition to the European trade practices, there developed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a rivalry between the companies competing for furs in the west. Headquartered in eastern

Canada, these companies opposed the Hudson's Bay Company's right to monopolize the fur trade. Eventually the competitors from the east joined forces under the title of the North-West Company. The conflicts which did occur between the Indians and the European traders, centered around the treatment accorded the Indians by the Europeans. For example, in 1772, Mathew Cocking of the Hudson's Bay Company, tried persuading the Gros Ventres to trade at the Company's posts far to the northeast. The Gros Ventres refused because the independent traders were coming to them. They also stated that they didn't want the Hudson's Bay Company building trading posts in their area (Rich, 1967: 144). Another example of Indian reaction to European practices occurred in 1781. The independent traders had been treating the Indians harshly. In retaliation the Indians refused to trade with the independent traders and in an attempt to create hardship for the Hudson's Bay Company, they burned all the prairie around the Company's posts; thus, driving away all of the game animals (ibid: 158).

The competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company was costly to both parties. In 1816, several posts were burned and a number of people were killed. The best known example of competition occurred at Seven Oaks (1816), where a group of French Metis, in the employ of the North-West Company, killed twenty-one Hudson's Bay Company employees.

## Amalgamation and the Restructuring of the Fur Trade

With the amalgamation of the two fur trading companies, in 1821, the northwest came under the exclusive control of the Hudson's Bay Company and its new Governor, Sir George Simpson.

The structure of the Company was altered so that greater profits could be realized. Duplication of trading posts and trade routes was eliminated, and an exclusive administrative hierarchy was created with predetermined tasks and powers. These administrative officers of the Company were encouraged to increase fur returns by a system of commissions based on the profits of the previous year.

In the initial years of this period(1821-1870) many of the reorganized Company's employees were removed from the outlying trading posts and relocated in the Red River region. The objectives of this measure were to reduce the operating expenses of the various posts, to discourage any independent fur trading within the jurisdiction of the Company, and to encourage a small number of settlers in the west to take up agriculture in the Red River area. The English-speaking mixed bloods (British and Scottish) slowly adopted this sedentary life-style, but the French speaking Metis remained nomadic. The Metis preferred the mobile life of the plains and rivers.

Shortly after the reorganization of 1821 the Metis began their annual cycle of the 'buffalo hunt'. 'The Hunt' was not the Metis' only occupation, as many were employed seasonally or permanently by the Hudson's Bay Company. However, it did become an economic activity dominated by the French Metis.

It was during this period of social coexistence and economic prosperity for the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis, that there developed among the Metis a distinct cultural identity. The Metis were an intermediate group between the Indians, to whom they were related, and the Hudson's Bay Company, to whom they were economically bound. French and Indian by birth, the Metis evolved as a combination of elements from two distinct parent cultures. From the Indian they inherited a language and the knowledge and skills of hunting, trapping and travel in the plains and forests. From the French they inherited the French language, the Roman Catholic religion and socio-economic ties to the fur trade. These features were significant in the formulation of a relationship which was the basis of an ongoing series of confrontations, first with the Hudson's Bay Company and then with the government of Canada.

## Adaptation, Confrontation and Coercion

The Metis' cultural patterns developed primarily as internal responses to external stimuli. The origins of these Metis reactions were in the policies and practices of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Metis' initial reaction to the first of these prospects, that of being farmers, was neither violent nor hasty. It was, however, a definite negative response. Unprepared and unwilling to become sedentary, the Metis reaction to the Hudson's Bay Company's new economic policies was to become involved in the river trade or to intensify their exploitation of the buffalo for consumption and for sale as provisions to the Company. These responses to stress (stress defined as those measures imposed by the Company, which the Metis perceived as being incompatible with their life-style) are generally called adaptive measures, which serve to remove the causes of the stress.

In the early years of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, alternate means for social and economic success were readily available. Changes in the Metis life-style took the form of innovation, confrontation and planned adaptation. An example of adaptation occurred when many of the French Metis became unemployed after 1821. They began a yearly cycle of migration to the plains to hunt buffalo. The very nature of 'the Hunt' was an adaptation of a pattern employed by the Indians. Increasing numbers of people became involved in 'the Hunt' and the structure and organization of the activity became progressively more complex.[1.] Metis response to this phenomenon was to invent an internal structure, charged with the authority to

---

1. 1630 people, including men, women and children took part in the June hunt of 1840(Howard, 1952: 259).

regulate 'the Hunt'. Rules and regulations were necessary to insure the success of 'the Hunt', and any breach of the rules was punishable according to the severity of the crime.

Group confrontation was another means the Metis used to persuade or coerce the Hudson's Bay Company into meeting their demands. Metis protest during the trial of Pierre Guillaume Sayer, who was arrested in 1849 for illegally trading furs, resulted in Sayer's being neither jailed nor fined for clearly breaking the law. The Metis regarded the release of Sayer as a victory for the free trade in furs and buffalo robes.

The Metis petitions of the 1870's and 1880's were legal attempts to secure confirmation, from the Territorial and Federal governments, that lands would be set aside for the exclusive use of the Metis. The petitions clearly indicated that the Metis favored a planned social, economic and political adaptation to a sedentary life-style. By this time the economics of 'the Hunt' would no longer support the food requirements of the Metis. This economic situation, plus the Federal government's National Policy regarding the west, marked the end of the Metis traditional life-style.

The National Policy of 1878 reflected the official attitude of Central Canada toward the western plains. A protective tariff was placed on Canadian industries, immigration was promoted and the Canadian Pacific Railroad was subsidized by the sale and granting of land. These measures were designed to establish an economy whereby wheat and other commodities from the west could be exchanged for manufactured goods from the east (Cook, 1971: 123-124). The result of this economic policy was that the plains of western Canada officially became a colony of eastern Canada. By law the population of the west was forced to purchase all of their manufactured goods in the east. The same law made it mandatory to sell their wheat and other commodities to eastern buyers. In addition, both the sale and the purchase prices were controlled by the eastern interests. As the Metis petitions indicate, they were aware of these policies and their implications. The Metis requests for land, crop seed, farm implements and breeding stock reflected their awareness of the necessity to radically change their life-style. The Metis planned to become farmers and thereby ensure their social and economic future.

## HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE 1885 REBELLION

In the opening paragraphs of this chapter it was pointed out that there are historical antecedents which explain the direct causes of the Metis Rebellion of 1885. Important in this explanation is the process of moving equilibrium: a process whereby the Metis maintained their cultural stability within an asymmetrical set of relationships. Only when this relationship became stressful, in respect ot the Metis' economic position, did cultural stability or moving equilibrium end. Thus, both legal and extra-legal strategies were used while attempting to create a situation of cultural stability.

The Metis Resistance* Movement of 1869 was constituted as a legal and secular opposition to the terms and conditions of the transfer of Metis inhabited lands from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada. In this instance the Metis were successful.

The Metis Rebellion of 1885, however, was constitutionally illegal, regardless of the moral justification claimed by the Metis. What were the social, economic and political conditions which prompted the Metis to resort to armed rebellion rather than the law? And, why, in March of 1885, did the objectives of the movement suddenly become both non-traditional and religious in orientation?

In order to answer the questions of this thesis, it is necessary to explain the relationship of the Metis to the Hudson's Bay Company and to the government of Canada. It is also necessary to explain the dynamics of culture change among the French Metis between 1821 and 1885 (this includes both the internal and external stimuli responsible for the changes).

The traditional approach used by historians describing this situation has been one which depicts the Metis as a culture 'out-of-step' with progress, a cultural group which was bypassed by civilization, or as a primitive, recalcitrant people unable to change their life-style. This type of explanation fails to do justice to the situation and to those involved, because it is a matter of historical record that the Metis did attempt a new life-style and it was only when this alternative was denied to them, that they joined in rebellion.

---

*The term Resistance is used here as an alternative to either 'Insurrection' or 'Rebellion', and is defined as a cultures opposition to imposed changes by an outside power. Metis fear of losing their language, religion and lands prompted them to oppose the Canadian take-over, until they had been guaranteed what they considered to be their inalienable rights.

## LITERATURE

Primary sources of data on the French Metis include the Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, and the Reports of the Secretary of State. Topically, these documents provide historical data on the social, economic and political events of the 1870's and 1880's. Socially, there are accounts of population size and distribution, and reports by various officials (medical doctors, commissioners and priests) describing the social and economic decline of the Metis and Indians. Economically, data is provided on the Colonization Companies, the government surveys, land claim settlements with the Metis, the development of new technologies such as saw mills and grist mills, and the economic development of larger centers such as Winnipeg. Politically, these documents record the reports of the Royal North West Mounted Police, the government's attitude toward the Metis claims to land and/or scrip, and the text of many of the Treaties of Canada with the Indians (these documents are valuable in that they expose the governments' and Indians' attitudes towards the Metis).

The secondary sources are authors such as G.F.G. Stanley (1936, 1963), H.A. Innis (1956) and M.Q. Innis (1954). They are important sources of information because of the large amount of primary data included in their writings. However, the historical approach taken by these authors lacks a theoretic framework because they rely largely on the documentation of people, places and events in a descriptive format. For example, Stanley's version of a frontier thesis portrays the Metis - Euro-Canadian conflict as being a conflict "between primitive and civilized peoples" (1936: vii). Unfortunately, he and others ignore the dynamics of culture change and culture conflict. They tend to overlook the fact that the Metis were politically and economically a dependent, subordinate culture within an exploitative colonial economic framework. The one notable exception in the literature on the Metis is Joseph Kinsey Howard's The Strange Empire of Louis Riel (1952). Howard's portrayal of the events surrounding the subjugation of the Indians and Metis considers the exploitative and expansionist policies of the dominant powers, the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

Another valuable source of secondary information is to be found among Masters Thesis and Doctoral Dissertations, from a variety of academic disciplines. These works deal with concrete research problems within specific social contexts and geographic locales. Wayne Moodie's, The St. Albert Settlement: A Study in Historical Geography (1965), provides an account of the efforts of the clergy to establish agricultural settlements centered around missions, migration patterns, trade routes and the nature of the produce exchanged. A.J. Ray, Jr.'s, Indian Exploitation of the Forest-Grassland Transition Zones in Western Canada, 1650 - 1860: A Geographical View of Two Centuries of Change (1971), analyzes the bio-physical environment from the perspective of interactional sequences between ecological niches - the flora and fauna, the seasonal cycle - and how all of these phenomena influenced the subsistence activities of the aboriginal inhabitants. Of particular interest is Ray's projection of this analytical-descriptive information into the period of fur trade expansion and competition, and the cataclysmic effect it had subsequently on the beaver and buffalo, and on the inhabitants of the region whose economic and subsistence activities centered on these faunal resources. The Fourth Chapter of Herman Sprenger's An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Metis Society, 1810 - 1870 (1972a), is informative in that it points out the dependency of the Europeans upon the Metis for sustenance, as they strived to create a viable agriculture base.

## MODELS AND COLONIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Despite the information available, no attempt has been made to analyze the position of the Metis from the perspective of a colonial model, which, in the Metis case, precluded any successful cultural adaptation. Thus, the approach taken here is to apply the model to discover the causal factors which contributed to the decline of Metis culture. Of major concern is the colonial situation exemplified by the asymmetrical relationship which existed between the French Metis and either the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1869) or the government of Canada (1870-1885). This colonial model emphasizes the relationship between a powerful, dominant society interested primarily in exploiting a geographic region and a subordinate people who inhabited the area in question. While instrumental in the economic success of the foreign power, the resident group and its objectives were expendable when focused on economic or political matters which differed from those of the dominant powers.

Raymond Kennedy, in the "Colonial Crisis and the Future" (1945; in Linton, 1945: 306 - 346) describes what may be called the five characteristics of the colonial way of life or "the universal traits of colonialism" (1945: 308, brackets and emphasis added):

> (1) the color line...is horizontal ...and cuts across every colonial society in such a way as to leave the natives in the lower stratum and the whites ...(Europeans)...in the upper.
>
> (2) ...political control by the possessing power, leaving

> the natives...(Metis)... little or no share in the government of their homelands ...in every instance the powers of such bodies are circumscribed in such a manner that ultimate decisions on all important matters are made by the home government or its agents in the colony (also see chapter's two and three).
>
> (3) ...economic dependence upon and control by the mother country. This general principle has wide and varied implications, all of them following the pattern of native subordination...a native... (Metis)...has little or no chance to rise in the economic scale (also see chapter two, pp. 29 - 30).
>
> (4) ...a very low stage of development of social service, especially education...Education of natives...(Metis and Indians) ...would threaten the whole structure of political and economic superordination and subordination (also see pp. 51-54).
>
> and,(5) ...the lack of social contact between natives...(Metis)... and the ruling caste. The groups are mutually exclusive to an almost total degree except in such formal relationships as those of employer and employee...

Balandier (1966:37) limits his "colonial features" to two areas of domination - economics and politics. His 'features' focus on the two essential factors referred to in this thesis. Kennedy's additional three 'characteristics', however, broaden the scope of application to include the social and racial factors, which contributed to the conflict between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company or the government of Canada.

The Hudson's Bay Company and the government of Canada did not exploit the Metis in the same way. The economic relationship between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1869), contained a form of reciprocity. The Hudson's Bay Company's needs for buffalo meat, pemmican, hides, fish, wood, tripmen, interpreters and guides were met by the Metis. In exchange the Metis received clothing, guns, ammunition, axes, and a variety of non-indigenous foods. These lists of trade commodities are by no means complete. However, the nature of their economic relationship is clear. The fur trade during this time period provided both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis with what each one wanted. It was an asymmetrical relationship, because the Hudson's Bay Company held economic decision making power exclusively. Until the monopolistic form of fur exploitation became uneconomic, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis coexisted in this relationship in relative harmony.

Those conflicts which did occur between the Metis and the Company were in most cases resolved without damage to either party's economic or social well being. Historically, however, the evidence points out that this colonial situation led to the eventual destruction of Metis culture.

An important aspect of the relationship between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company, was the ability of the Metis to adapt to innovations in the fur trade economy and technology, and to tax and other trade regulations imposed by the administrative officers of the Company. But, the economic restructuring of the Company after the amalgamation of 1821 left many Metis without employment. Unwilling to take up agriculture, the Metis turned to the plains and the buffalo hunt as a subsistence activity. However, as the demand for meat and pemmican grew, a market was created for the product of 'the Hunt'. In this instance, the Metis' rejection of the Company's plans worked in their favor. The Metis rapidly assumed the role of provisioners of the fur trade.

The imposition of taxation and trade regulations met with stiff opposition from the Metis. On these occasions the Metis either petitioned the Governor or met with the Hudson's Bay Company officials to state their opposition.

On several occassions the Metis demanded recognition of their rights as original inhabitants of the land. Without political power, the Metis were never successful in achieving legal recognition. The only success they gained was in the previously mentioned Sayer's trial of 1849. Although Sayer's was not convicted or fined, it is important to note that the legislation governing the trading of furs was not changed. The Metis had no power politically, just as they had no economic power.

Finally, when the fur trade monopoly no longer produced a profit for the Hudson's Bay Company, it sold its interests to the Dominion of Canada for £300,000. The Metis had no say about the terms and conditions of the sale. It was a business transaction, conducted between the Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company in England and the federal politicians in Canada.

The Canadian takeover of the west (1870) marked the beginning of an era, during which the Metis would experience the frustrations of being ignored and rejected by the Canadian government. They were not essential to the Canadian take-over or to economic success. The government of Canada's objectives for the future of the western plains, within the confines of Confederation, were different from those of the Hudson's Bay Company. Two separate but related factors determined Canadian policy. One was that they wanted to secure the west against the expansionist ambitions of the United States, and a second factor was that they wanted to use the west as a source of raw materials for Central Canadian industry and as a market for finished products. Anxious to realize these ambitions, the Federal government began to survey the land for sale for agricultural use.

It was at this time (1869-1870) that the French Metis and the English speaking half-breeds rose in protest. The Manitoba Resistance Movement was a demand by the Metis that their rights to the freedom of religion and language, and to the security of their lands, be protected by legislation. These demands eventually became part of the

Manitoba Act (1870). It granted 1,400,000 acres of land to the Metis, but the Federal government carried on with its previously established expansionist policies.

The relationship which evolved after 1870 emphasized oppressive factors which contributed to the powerlessness of the Metis. The wishes of the Metis were secondary to the Canadian government's objectives. As immigrants moved west, many conflicts arose over the issue of land titles. Racism, expressed in hostility and murder, drove many Metis to leave their homes on the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, to reestablish themselves in the smaller communities of the northwest. Migration was a Metis strategy for many years after the Manitoba Act. The surveys soon caught up to them, however, and with it came an ever increasing number of immigrants. Concomitant with these events was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the signing of the Treaties with the Indians and the decimation of the buffalo herds. Other influences were the National Policy of 1878 and the advent of the colonization companies into the west. All of these factors contributed to the strengthening of the Federal governments economic and political control over the west.

The Metis reaction was to express their concern through petitioning. As this strategy had secured their lands in 1870, it was expected that their lands would be safe again. The Metis petitioned both the Territorial and Federal governments for eleven years. Throughout those years neither level of government responded positively to the Metis requests. Did the Canadian government need the Metis to achieve their economic objectives?

Faced with their powerlessness and dependency upon the Federal government, the Metis became militant in their demands. When these tactics failed too, the Metis, under the leadership of Louis Riel, initiated a military campaign. The Rebellion of 1885 was a Metis expression of frustration with the dominant power, the government of Canada. Unable to negotiate a land settlement with the Federal government through the legal process of petition, they reduced their involvement to military action. At the time the Metis perceived this as their final attempt to achieve cultural stability.

## Religious/Revitalization Movements

The Rebellion of 1885 was an attempt by the Metis to revitalize and reform their social, economic and political environments. The conditions for rebellion had been brought about by the colonial regime of the previous sixty-four years, and became most intense during the ten years prior to 1885. During those ten years Metis frustrations accumulated to the point where they rejected Canada completely. Unable to assimilate on their own terms, and fearfull that their culture would be destroyed, the Metis rebelled.

Anthony F.C. Wallace (1961) and Vittorio Lanternari (1963) offer models, which, when combined, explain the nature of the Metis' religious/revitalization movement of 1885.[1] Wallace (1961) perceives a revitalization movement as being a process designed to reduce the excessive amounts of stress and frustration caused by the failure of traditional cultural means to maintain cultural stability. Wallace defines revitalization movements

> as deliberate, organized
> attempts by some members
> of a society to construct
> a more satisfying culture
> by rapid acceptance of a
> pattern of multiple
> innovations (1961):143-144).

The "members" were the Metis who accepted the leadership of Louis Riel. The "pattern of multiple innovations" was the reformation of the Metis world, to exclude the oppressive central Canadian immigrants and influence. The west was to be a sanctuary for the Metis and other oppressed peoples, as selected by Riel. They would farm, raise cattle, fish, hunt, and in addition they would build schools, churches and hospitals. In essence they would create a society much like the one being promoted by the Canadian government. However, they would do it independently and without Canadian interference.

Riel's role in the Rebellion of 1885 was that of spiritual leader. In the months previous to the outbreak of shooting, Riel had used every secular, legal strategy to secure a stable future for the Metis. With continuous lack of success, however, a deep resentment towards the Canadian government built up among the Metis. When Riel formulated his vision of the goal culture, his role changed to that of a militant religious leader.

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[1] Chapter Four is a more extensive analysis of the intimate relationship between the secular and religious motives underlying the 1885 Rebellion.

Wallace's psychological model of the revitalization process is based on what he calls "a pattern of temporally overlapping, but functionally distinct stages" (1961:146). These stages are(ibid: 146-152):

i. Steady State - a state of stable moving equilibrium.

ii. The Period of Increased Individual Stress - the socio-economic system is being "pushed" progressively out of equilibrium by...climatic and *biotic change, epidemic disease, war and conquest, social subordination, acculturation*, etc. (emphasis added).

iii. The Period of Cultural Distortion - characterized by coercion, mistrust and a more intense state of anomie.

iv. The Period of Revitalization -
  1) Formulation of a Code - by the leader(s).
  2) Communication - to attract converts.
  3) Organization - tripartite (formulator, disciples and mass followers).
  4) Adaptation - the Code is reworked "to defend the movement."
  5) Cultural Transformation - the achievement of "internal social conform-

ity," the "maintenance of boundaries from outside invasion." and the establishment of a "successful economic system."

6) Routinization - "the movements function shifts from the role of innovation to the role of maintenance."

v. The New Steady State - of moving equilibrium.

Wallace's conceptualization of the process of revitalization does not ignore history; his example of the Seneca Indians and the effects of the Code of Handsome Lake clearly indicate his historical concern (1961: 144-146). However, his emphasis on the internal, individual and group responses to stress is too narrow for the scope of this thesis. Therefore, another approach is necessary to compliment that of Wallace's.

The approach taken by Vittorio Lanternari, in The Religions of the Oppressed (1963), emphasizes the importance of perceiving a religious movement within a historical context, with particular emphasis being placed upon the role of secular factors as historical contributors to the religious phenomenon. Lanternari (1963: v) "prefers the historical approach by means of which it is possible to explain the religious phenomenon and therefore to justify it" (emphasis added).

Lanternari further describes his conceptions of "justification" and "explanation":

> To justify a religious movement

> means to explain its nature, its function, and its genesis as well as its internal and external dynamics due, respectively, to factors inherent in the culture and to the impact from other cultures and external forces(ibid: v).

and, that

> A religious phenomenon may be explained only in so far as it is possible to trace its historical origin and development and to analyze it systematically in relation to concrete secular conditions (ibid: v).

Where Wallace offers the rationale for deviation from the traditional means of relieving stress, and a structured process by which to explain it, Lanternari presents a broader, historical approach in which both causal and functional factors may be included to explain the nature of the 1885 Rebellion.

## CONCLUSION

The Rebellion of 1885 was a rejection of colonization by the Metis. The form that it took was that of a revitalization movement. The Metis had always been a subordinate people within the asymmetrical relationships of colonization. During the period of the Hudson's Bay Company's dominance the Metis' ability to adapt to externally stimulated changes had promoted their cultural stability. With the advent of Canadian governmental control, however, the traditional adaptive strategies no longer worked.

The procedure of this thesis then, is first to establish the following four premises: (1) that the structure and organization of the Metis' economic activities were part of a larger economic system, which demanded that they produce for the benefit of the Hudson's Bay Company; (2) that the asymmetrical, colonial relationship determined the Metis' economic, social and political activities; (3) that the key to the survival of Metis culture lay in their ability to adapt to any changes promulgated by the dominant culture; and (4) that with the shift in the locus of authority and power, from London to Ottawa, the Metis began to experience greater difficulty in adapting to the political, social and economic changes occurring around them. Based upon these premises and their causal implications, this analysis argues that there is, in this case, a definite relationship between colonization, the adaptive behaviors of the Metis, and the revitalization movement focus of the Rebellion of 1885.

# CHAPTER TWO

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter will be to demonstrate that although the Metis enjoyed relative economic freedom and security during the period to 1870, they were living within an asymmetrical economic system over which they had little or no control. This section will show the manner in which the Metis were dependent upon the economic policies and practices of the dominant Hudson's Bay Company, the actions the Metis took to combat the more oppressive situations and why, because of their economic and political minority, they were forced into a resistance movement in 1869/70.

Past and present authors have dealt with Metis history by using a chronological format to describe the people, places and events. The nature of the data lends itself to this type of presentation. However, as the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that the colonial situation was the cause of the Rebellion of 1885, a different approach will be taken. In this chapter, the historical information will be analyzed chronologically but major emphasis will be placed on the colonial relationship which existed between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company. In chapter one it was pointed out that colonization is a process of economic and political dominance, by one group of people over another. These two factors are essential to the success of colonization. In this chapter then, the economic and political structure and organization of the fur trade will be emphasized. 'Economics' will include such factors as the profit sharing arrangements of the Hudson's Bay Company 'partners', taxation, 'the Hunt', and the technology of the fur trade (canoes, York boats, Red River carts, horses, oxen and sternwheelers). Political control, on the other hand, will include all of those jurisdictional powers granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by virtue of the Charter of 1670. Included within these privileges and obligations were monopolistic controls over the economics of the fur trade, the courts of law, and the right to introduce taxation and fines on anyone within their territorial jurisdiction. The Hudson's Bay Company had absolute control over all those areas drained by the headwaters of those rivers and streams which flowed into Hudson's Bay.

While it is difficult to separate economics from politics, in this instance specific examples will be brought forward which point out the significance of political power in maintaining the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade monopoly.

In addition, major emphasis will be given to the position of the Metis within the economic and political structure of the fur trade. This, plus the examination of those factors which caused the Metis to protest many Hudson's Bay Company decisions, will further explicate the nature of their colonial relationship.

## THE COLONIAL SITUATION

In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company amalgamated their fur trade operations. Prior to the amalgamation the Metis had been more closely associated with the North West Company and it was during these years of conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company, that the French Metis concept of cultural unity had emerged. The concept of identity was most apparent in the Metis' economic activities, the French language they spoke, and their affiliation with the Roman Catholic religion.

The 50 years that followed appeared on the surface to be characterized by stability and an economic milieu which was of mutual benefit to both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis. In part this assumption is true. However, it was also true that during this period the Metis' economic, 'core', relationships with the mercantilistic Hudson's Bay Company created a situation which left the Metis economically and politically dependent. Julian Steward (1955:37) describes 'culture core' as a

> constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements. The core includes such social, political, and religious patterns as are empirically determined to be closely connected with these arrangements.

The Metis culture core included such economic and subsistence activities as 'the Hunt', trapping and fishing, employment as tripmen, guides, and interpreters in the river and cart trade, the harvesting of wood and small scale horticulture. The surplus product of 'the Hunt', and trapping and fishing had to be traded to the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company Charter granted to its Governor complete monopolistic jurisdiction over the territory granted to it. This concept of economic monopoly developed from the mercantilistic philosophies of Europe following the decline of feudalism. Mercantilism dictated that all aspects of foreign trade be controlled by the mother country. Organizationally, this meant that all goods traded for were exchanged for products of the mother country (cash was not used as a medium of exchange), transportation was via ships owned or contracted by the mother country, all the field officers of the trade were nationals of the dominant country and all decisions regarding trade practices and objectives were made by the foreign country or its representatives in the field.

The economic structure and organization of the fur trade created an asymmetrical relationship between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company. This type of relationship is described by Dobb (1946) as being a situation

> under which (Metis) labor-power... 'itself (became) a commodity'. Its historical prerequisite was the concentration of ownership of the means of production in

> the hands of a class (Hudson's Bay Company), consisting of only a minor section of society, and the consequential emergence of a propertyless class for whom the sale of their labour-power... (became)...their only source of livelihood (Dobb, 1946:7; brackets added).

Balandier (1966:37) states that "economic exploitation" of this sort "is based on the seizure of political power,"[1] which he says are the "two characteristic features of colonialism." Therefore, while the Metis, by 1850, came to constitute a majority of the population of the Red River area, they were a sociological minority. The historical information of the period to 1870 reveals that the Metis became "a population that (was essential to the production of) all the wealth but (which did) not participate in its political or economic advantages and (consequently) constituted an oppressed class" (Ibid.:40; also, see Kennedy, 1945; brackets added).

## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, TO 1870

The following chronology is a listing of some of the important events in the relationship between the Hudson's

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[1] The seizure of political power in this case means the assumption of control through the Hudson's Bay Company charter and its fusion of political decision making power with the economic objectives of the fur trade monopoly.

Bay Company and the Metis.

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|---|---|
| 1801 | Red River cart introduced by Alexander Henry. |
| 1816 | Battle of Seven Oaks. |
| 1820[1] | 540 carts left the Red River for 'the Hunt'. |
| 1821 | (a) The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) achieved full monopoly of the fur trade by absorbing the North West Company.<br>(b) The HBC restructured and reorganized its field and administrative operations.<br>(c) Introduction of the HBC policy of limiting all agricultural activity to the Red River area. |
| 1821-1825 | The canoe was replaced by the York boat. |
| 1822 | The education policies of the HBC were opposed to the education of native children. |
| 1829 | Metis demonstration at Ft. Garry re: HBC introduction of import duties. |
| 1834 | The HBC acquired the Territory of Assiniboia from the Selkirk Estate for £84,000. |
| 1835 | The Council of Assiniboia (HBC) introduced a 7.5% tariff on all imports and exports. |
| 1837 | Conflict over the issue of free trade vs. monopoly. |
| 1840 | The HBC confiscated furs from anyone suspected of free trading. |
| 1844 | (a) Advent of the cart trade between St. Paul and the Red River settlements.<br>(b) The Governor of the HBC demanded the right to read all mail.<br>(c) The Governor of the HBC imposed a 20% tax on all maritime imports.<br>(d) Louis Riel born on October 22, 1844. |
| 1845 | The Metis protested the 1844 tax measures and demanded a statement of rights, and facilities for the preparation of tallow and hides. |
| 1847 | Metis Memorial presented to the British government |

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[1] See pp.50-52, for the Hunt figures between 1820 and 1874.

| | |
|---|---|
| | protesting the Hudson's Bay Company's practice of withholding education from the Indians. |
| 1849 | The trial of Pierre Guillaume Sayer for free trading in furs. |
| 1850 | Metis petition to Sir George Simpson protesting the presence and actions of Adam Thom. |
| 1859 | (a) The buffalo frontier had been pushed west as far as the Cypress Hills.<br>(b) Introduction of the sternwheeler to the Ft. Garry-St. Paul trade route.<br>(c) The cart trade began to decline on the Ft. Garry-St. Paul trade route. |
| 1864 | Louis Riel returned to the Red River from Montreal. |
| 1867 | The British North America Act. |
| 1869 | (a) The purchase of the HBC territory by the Dominion of Canada for £300,000.<br>(b) The Dominion Surveyors arrive in the Red River Area. |
| 1869-1870 | The Metis Resistance Movement |
| 1870 | The Manitoba Act. |

## FUR TRADE COMPETITION: PRE-1821

The conomic and political structure of the Hudson's Bay Company following 1821 was very different from that which had existed previously. Before the merger with the Northwest Company, the Hudson's Bay Company had based its operations at Hudson's Bay. The trade occurred on an annual basis, and, for the most part, the Company required the Indians to transport their furs long distances in order to trade for European merchandise,

The North West Company, headquartered in Montreal, pursued a more southerly route to the west following the

Great Lakes drainage system to the river systems of the Red, North and South Saskatchewan, Athabasca, Peace, and eventually to the Mackenzie. The most significant difference between these two fur trade operations was that the North West Company carried the trade to the supplier, while the Hudson's Bay Company waited for the supplier to come to the post. Another difference was that the North West Company encouraged their 'partners' or factors to winter in the northwest, thus establishing more concrete relations with the various cultural groups, the Cree, Chippewa, Saulteaux, Assiniboine, and Chippewyan. Company employees, French and Roman Catholic in the majority, wintered in Indian encampments where they married Indian girls. The offspring of these unions were the French Metis.

## Demography

It is impossible to give either accurate population figures, or distribution patterns, for the North West Territories, outside of the Red River settlements, for most of the period prior to 1870. During the 1850's and 1860's more permanent settlements came into existence. It would appear that many of these settlements were an outgrowth of the nomadic buffalo-hunting encampments, or resulted from semi-permanent residence around fur trade posts. Two variables appear as possible reasons for this occuring. Probably the most important factor was accessibility to market. For example, as Edmonton increased in importance as a distribution and gathering center for the fur trade, there was little incentive to return to the Red River region. The second variable was concomitant with the first. As the buffalo frontier progressed west it became increasingly difficult for the large numbers of men, women and children to travel the long distances to and from Red River. These people became either the true, nomadic, winter rovers who wintered on the plains, or took up winter residence around the various missions which had established themselves in the West.[1]

This did not mean that the French Metis became non-existent in the Red River settlements. The Red River Metis, who had

> totalled only 500 persons in 1821 increased in numbers to nearly 1,300 in 1831 and 2,600 in 1843. By 1856 their population had climbed to 3,250, while in 1870 it exceeded 12,000 (Ray, 1971: 226-227).

Ray's 1870 figure was misleading since it lumped together the French, English and Scottish under the heading of 'Metis'. G.F.G. Stanley (1963:9), on the other hand, gave a much clearer picture of the actual situation by citing figures from the "federal census of 1871 which enumerated the elements of the population;

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[1] The topic of 'winter rovers' and 'migration' is discussed in more detail in Chapter III.

French Metis, 5,720; English-speaking half-breeds, 4,080; white settlers, 1,600."

As was pointed out earlier (pp. 5-6) there were significant differences between the French, Roman Catholic Metis and the English, Scottish mixed-bloods of the various Protestant denominations. Doughty and Shortt (1914:50) stated that many of the latter segment of the population 'were reckoned among the most prosperous in the settlement', and W.L. Morton (1949:321) mentioned this group as being, by the 1860's, "the Metis middle-class."

## THE RE-ORGANIZED HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1821 to 1860, radically altered the trade operations in the west. The most significant change was in the adoption of the field structure of the North West Company:

> The most distinctive feature of the North West Company field structure taken over by the reorganized company was partnership for field officers. This institution was built into the Charter by means of a covenant called the Deed Poll of 1821. By this agreement the field officers and wintering partners of the two old companies were elected into a partnership body called the "fur trade" and the relations of this group to the body of proprietors or stockholders in London were put

> upon a contractual basis. ...The Deed Poll provided that the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company should be divided annually in the proportion of sixty percent to the proprietors and forty percent to the field partners (Merck, 1968:XXXIX).

## Field Officers and Profit Sharing

The forty percent of the trade profits allocated to the field partners was divided into eighty-five equal shares, which was then distributed among fifty-three individuals: twenty-five chief factors received two shares apiece, while twenty-eight chief traders each received one share. The remaining seven shares were placed in a retirement fund for the exclusive benefit of the factors and traders (Merck, 1968:XXXIX).

> Beneath the rank of field officers of the Company were employees known as clerks and apprenticed clerks. These were young men, Scotch by birth oftener than otherwise, of fair education and were expected, after a given period, to recruit the ranks of field partners...They were eligible after five years of service to become clerks...(and)...were eligible, after a period of about fourteen years, if they showed promise, to promotion to chief tradership (Ibid., emphasis and brackets added).

Beneath this group of Hudson's Bay Company employees, was a group of workers who had no opportunity of advancement---not even to the level of apprentice clerk. Within this lower socio-economic strata there was also a system of ranking:

> they...(had)...among them grades and classes ranging from the highest, that of post-master, down through interpreters, mechanics, guides, steersmen, bowmen, voyageurs and laborers, to the lowly order of apprenticed laborers...The Company recruited its voyageurs and laborers largely from French-Canadians and Half-Breeds (Merck, 1968:XXXIX, brackets added).[1]

Concomitant with this reorganization of the Company, there was also a severe cutback in the number of employees required. "Between the years 1821 and 1825 the number was reduced from 1983 to 827" (Merck, 1968: XLVI). Many English-speaking mixed-bloods were forced out of full-time employment within the formal structure of the Company. "The discharged men as a matter of economy were gradually transferred with their native families to the Red River Colony, which took on as a result a new character and a new permanence" (Ibid.). On the other hand, those employees of officer rank who later retired were accorded preferential treatment through being encouraged to "settle at Red River, and various arrangements were made in grants of land to retiring servants"(Innis, 1956:313).

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[1] "Native labour was encouraged. Strong, healthy half-breed lads not under 14 years of age were engaged as apprentices to tradesmen for terms of seven years, and were paid for the first two years, £8 per annum, next two years at £10 per annum, following two years at £12 per annum, and last year at £16---a total of £75..." (Innis, 1956:312).

Centralization of Authority

Simpson centralized control of the Company by taking away many of the autonomous powers that the wintering partners had possessed under the former structure of the North West Company(Innis, 1956:321-323).

The policy was carried to the extent that

> Not only did the Council (of Assiniboia) decline in importance but there were complaints that the Governor promoted those who were most likely to submit to centralized control. Wintering partners trained in the organization of the North West Company were gradually replaced by young partners trained in the methods of the new descipline(Ibid.:322).

The Company's monopoly control of the trade extended to dictating how many furs were to be supplied by each post in any one year.[1] This measure proved to be effective through the establishment of quotas for each post(Innis, 1956:326-327), and "the policy of controlling production became (even) more effective through a careful study of needs of the trade and particular tribes"(Ibid:328).

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[1] "The trade carried on by the Company is in peltries of all sorts, oil, dried and slated fish, feathers, quills, and a list of their principal articles of commerce is subjoined: beaver-skins, bear-skins (black, brown, white or Polar, grizly), badger-skins, buffalo or Bison robes[2], castorum, deer-skins (Rein, Red, Moose or Elk, parchment), feathers of all kinds, Fisher-skins, Goose-skins, Fox-skins (Black, Silver, Cross, Red, White, Blue), Ivory (tusks of the Walrus), Lynx-skins, Marten-skins, Masquash-skins, Otter-skins, Oil (Seal, Whale), Swan-skins, Salmon (salted), Seal-skins, Wolf-skins, Wolverine-skins(Innis, 1956:307)."

[2] "The hide of the bison-or, as it is called by the fur-traders, the buffalo-when dressed on one side and the hair left on the other, is called a robe. Great numbers are sent to Canada, where they are used for sleigh wrappers in winter. In the Indian country they are often used instead of blankets."
"The most valuable of the furs mentioned in the above list is that of the black fox(Ibid.)"

In addition, the Company imposed an operational policy which effectively tied the Metis to the operation of the monopoly. This was that..."the organization, the Department, and the Post(s) as far as possible were (to be) self-sufficient"...(Innis, 1956:303). By this policy the Company was able to reduce the necessity of importing food and trade supplies from Great Britain, and increase its margin of profit in the export of furs.

Also,

> The policy of the newly reorganized company was to keep the posts further apart and to force upon the Indians the burden of bringing in their furs to trade (Moodie, 1965:15).

## Strengthening of the Monopoly

In addition to streamlining their transportation facilities and economizing on labor, the Company made political and economic arrangements which further secured their monopoly. They

> acquired the Territory of Assiniboia from the Selkirk Estate in 1834. Control of the supply of furs in the face of competition from the south was strengthened through an agreement dated March 21,

> 1833, in which the Hudson's Bay Company paid £300 annually to the American Fur Company for withdrawing from Rainy Lake, Winnipeg, and Red River Districts ...Through these arrangements the Hudson's Bay Company reduced its complement of servants in the district and carried on the trade more economically (Innis, 1956: 330).

With these measures the Hudson's Bay Company's economic objectives of maintaining control of the monopoly became a reality. Supported by the Charter of 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company possessed the right to unilaterally make any decisions it wanted. At no time did the Company consult with the Metis about any of its economic or political objectives for the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company was a British based institution, whose primary objective was to make a profit for its shareholders. They were not interested in developing the area for agriculture, or any other economic endeavor; agriculture meant immigration, and with an increased population would come a rapid decline in their monopolistic control. Competition would then increase, the Company would not be able to control free trade and profits would decline. These factors contributed to the eventual destruction of the monopoly, but until that occurred in the 1860's, the Hudson's Bay Company vigorously exploited the land and the people of the Canadian Northwest.

## The Law, Taxation and Conflict

In the sphere of law the Hudson's Bay Company held jurisdiction over all aspects of economic and social activities. For example, the Company could introduce tax measures whenever and wherever it deemed necessary. The issue of arbitrarily imposed duties on imports was a source of conflict as early as 1829 when

> There was a demonstration of the Metis at Fort Garry, demanding facilities for a trade in tallow and hides, and the *abolition of duty on goods from the United States* (Doughty and Shortt, 1914:52; emphasis added).

On Feb. 12, 1835, following the purchase of the Selkirk Grant, for £84,000, the "first act of the new Governing body, the Council of Assiniboia, was to place a tariff of 7.5% on Red River imports and exports" (Pritchett, 1942:129). Also, the Company had the power to take punitive action against anyone who was involved in trading on their own.

This issue of free trade vs. monopoly became a source of conflict as early as 1837. The Company grew increasingly restrictive in the application of what it considered to be its rights. The Company, in 1840, confiscated furs from anyone suspected of free trading. In 1844 the Governor demanded the right to read all mail, and as a final measure, imposed a twenty percent tax on all maritime importations. The most oppressive aspect of these measures was that "the Governor of Assiniboia was authorized to exempt from payment all those who did not traffic in furs"(Stanley, 1936:44-45). The result of this action was the Metis' demand for a statement of rights (1845). The Governor's response resolved nothing. He reasserted that all residents of the region, within the jurisdiction of the Charter, were subject to the same laws. In effect the situation did not change at all (Stanley, Ibid.).

In one instance, however, the Metis were able successfully to oppose the jurisdiction of the Company and force it into a position of compromise. The very fact that Metis made up the majority of the total population gave them the power either to ignore or oppose any mandates imposed upon them by the Company. For example, in 1849, with the trial of Pierre Guillaume Sayer, who was charged with trading in furs within the territorial monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Metis had been disallowed from sitting on the jury by Adam Thom[1], Recorder for Rupert's land. Faced with discrimination, plus the threat to what the Metis considered a natural right to trade, they used an armed show of force to influence the court's decision:

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[1] Adam Thom, the first Recorder in the West, was selected by Governor Simpson on the basis of his brilliant law career in Lower Canada. Unfortunately, Thom was an Anglophone Protestant, whose anti-Catholic, anti-French convictions had been instrumental in the final drafting of the Durham Report of 1839.

> ...377 guns were counted, besides here and there groups armed with other missiles of every description (Alexander Ross, In Stubbs, 1968:17).

Ultimately Sayer was found guilty but he was not fined or sentenced. The law was upheld in the eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company, but the Metis regarded it as a victory for free trade. However,

> the Metis never forgave Thom for his attempt to exclude members of their race from the jury. In a petition which they presented to Sir George Simpson in 1850 they said that Thom had used his position to abuse and insult "in open court the whole nation" (Stubbs, 1968:19).

## Labor Supply

The problem of employing an adequate labor force to carry on the trade during peek periods, i.e., the summer months, and at the same time be able to keep down overhead costs, was resolved by the Company through a variety of measures; the most common of which was to utilize the labor pool of settlers in the Red River settlement. For example, in 1838

> ...settlers were hired for the transport of goods from York to Norway House and Red River ...This freight was contracted for the settlers by the piece, the burden of overhead was materially reduced through hiring temporary employees rather than a permanent force

> throughout the year (Innis, 1956:308-309).

Thus the

> Red River settlement (became) a reserve from which men could be taken in the open season and brought back to be discharged in the winter (Ibid.:310).

Transportation

With competition no longer a threat to the Company's supply of furs, it was able to introduce new economic measures. For example, the transportation system was revamped with "York boats...substituted for North canoes as freighters at a saving of a third in wages" (Merck, 1968:XLVI), and fur prices were standardized and employees wages were cut in half (Ibid.: also Innis, 1956:312).

Birch bark canoes had become increasingly difficult to obtain, were easily damaged, and the expense of maintaining them far exceeded that of the York boat.[1] In 1821 it was estimated that the cost of constructing and outfitting a light canoe to make the journey from Ft. William to Lake Winnipeg was between £300 and £500 (Innis, 1956:289). Compared to the cost of a York boat and the much greater amount of hard and soft ware it could transport, the saving to the company was significant, e.g., the York boat cost between £20 and £25 to construct, would carry between two and three tons, including eight to twelve voyageurs, possibly some passengers, and food supplies for all (Innis, 1956:293).[1]

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[1] From smallest to largest the canoes of the fur trade were designated as: light canoe, half-canoe, batard (bastard canoe). Canot du nord (25' long, with 10 or 11 in a crew), and Canot du maitre (Montreal canoe - 35 to 40' long with crews of 16 or 18, and a carrying capacity of five tons (Howay, Sept. 1941).

According to an account by W.C. King, Chief Trader at Lower Fort Garry during the 1860's,

> the York Boats were built in the colony by Company shipbuilders, of native spruce, they had a thirty-three foot keel and an eight foot beam. They were designed to travel over lakes, rivers, and rapids (Weekes, 1940:25).

## The Cart Trade

In addition to their economic involvement in the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade activities, the Metis initiated and dominated---as a labor force---the cart trade to St. Paul in the United States; the principle source of power being the ox. The trade between St. Paul and the Red River settlements began in 1844 with six carts and increased to 102 in 1851, 600 in 1858, and 2,500 in 1869 (Knox, 1942:40; Mackintosh, 1934:27).

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[1] "The York boats appeared in the fur trade about 1826... (and were)...of two sizes---28' and 40'---the larger of which could carry 110 pieces of 90 pounds each with a crew of a steerman, eight middlemen and a bowsman (Anon., The Beaver, Sept. 1935:10-11)."

The articles of trade were the buffalo hides which were in great demand in the United States, e.g., 7,500 hides were taken south in 1856. In addition to buffalo hides, wheat, tallow, and beef were exported from the Red River Settlement (Innis, 1956:294).

The cart trade between the Red River region and St. Paul was encouraged by the Hudson's Bay Company. As the requirements of the Company grew, their import expenses increased, and in order to lessen these expenses the trade south was encouraged. Innis (*Ibid.*) points out that, in 1856, the price of transporting goods from England via St. Paul to Red River was £18 per ton, as compared to £26 per ton using the Hudson's Bay route.

## The Sternwheelers

With the advent of the sternwheeler, in 1859,[1] the cart trade between St. Paul and Fort Garry began to decline. In 1859, the Anson Northrup made the round trip between these two centers in eight days (Innis, 1956:294). Although this innovation in transportation had an adverse effect on Metis labor, it did not become a serious issue immediately. During the 1860's and '70's, and prior to the introduction of sternwheelers to the Grand Rapids region and to the Saskatchewan River system, the cart trade expanded westward from Fort Garry to Edmonton. The route that they followed was

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[1] Anson Northrup (1859); International (1862) (McFadden, 1950:31, Pt. 1).

Selkirk (1871); Cheyenne (1873); Alpha (1873); Manitoba and Minnesota (1875) (*Ibid*.:25, Part 2).

1877---Keewatin, Prince Rupert, Swallow, Colville, Lady Ellen, Jessie McKenney, Venture (*Ibid*:28, Part 2)

J.L. Grandin (1878), H.W. Alsop (1882), Pluck (1883); 1880's ---Wm. Robinson, Marquette, Northwest (*Ibid*.:29, Part 2)

The..."first stern-wheelers to carry freight to the trading posts of the Grand Rapids country were the Commissioner---100 feet long---in the service of the Hudson's Bay, 1872 ...Lilly (1877); S.S. Northcote (1873); Marquis, Alberta, Baroness, Minnow (pre-1885); Northwest (1874)" (Dalrymple, 1943:41).

> from Fort Garry to Portage La Prairie, Fort Ellice, and Fort Carlton on the Saskatchewan and to Edmonton...oxen and Red River carts carrying about 800 pounds of freight per cart and travelling 15 to 20 miles per day travelled to Edmonton and returned (about 2000 miles) during the summer (Innis, 1956: 296).

The ox cart and the sternwheelers were not the only modes of transportation employed by the Company. In the more northerly, isolated regions, horses and dogs were used, although "the packsaddle had decided limitations since a horse could carry only from 100 to 200 pounds" (Innis, 1956:295). It was during this period that the shaganappies (Indian ponies) became more popular. Although they couldn't carry as great a load, they were more useful in difficult terrain (Innis, 1956:296). Thus the Metis freighters, who had been displaced by the sternwheelers on the Red River, found another employment opportunity within the structure of the fur trade economy. The Metis' ability and willingness to change their economic activities through adaptation was a prominent feature of their asymmetrical relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company.

## THE METIS AND 'THE HUNT'

In the years following the merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, there developed among the Metis a unique and distinctive economic activity. Partial to 'the Hunt' the Metis did not readily adapt to the sedentary life of agriculture. In fact, the seasonal cycle of 'the Hunt' was in direct contrast to the requirements of planting and harvesting. Also, as Herman Sprenger (1972b:166-173) pointed out, the colony at Red River would probably have starved had it not been for the supplies of pemmican and buffalo meat, which the Metis 'Hunt' provided annually (see Appendix A, p. 140).

Sprenger's "List of Partial and Complete Crop Failures in the Red River settlement" (Ibid.:167-168), covers the period from 1813 to 1868 and takes into account such factors as frost, locusts, drought and other unspecified causes, which made agricultural produce an unreliable source of food for the settlers. Even after the settlement began to take on a more permanent character during the mid-1820's,

> this did not mean that they
> no longer depended on buffalo
> products for a part of their
> subsistence, since these goods

> were now brought into the settlements by hunters. Even during years of successful harvests, "plains provisions" were an important component of a "carefree" winter (Ibid., brackets added).

The Hunt, as a central feature of Metis life, became an economic activity almost totally exclusive of any other ethnic group. The English and Scottish mixed bloods, by virtue of their cognatic affiliations, looked to agriculture more positively than did the French Metis. However, at times the English and Scottish Half-Breeds joined with the Metis in the Hunt.

> It appears that the bulk of the English-speaking Half-Breeds had lived among the Woodland Cree, as a result they did not possess the equestrian skills of the Metis who originated from the "Saskatchewan", however, several did adopt the Metis way of life. In times of scarcity large numbers of English-speaking Half-Breeds sought provisions on the Plains (Giraud, 1945:708, In Foster, 1966:92 fn).

The size of the Hunt grew in direct correlation to the demands of the Hudson's Bay Company and the settlers. As the population of the Red River settlement increased, so did the importance of the Hunt and, even though the Hudson's Bay Company was experiencing ever increasing financial difficulties, "the demand for supplies of food of slight bulk and high food value such as pemmican remained" (Innis, 1956:301). Using the Red

River cart[1] as the principal mode of transportation, and either riding or leading their best hunt horses, the Metis made their large expeditions in June, August, November, December and January.[2]

## Technology and Economics of 'The Hunt'

A description of the Hunt noted that 540 carts went out in 1820, 820 in 1830 (Ray, 1971:228) and 1,210 in 1840.[3] Howard states that

> The June hunt of 1840 was typical of these Metis mass expeditions. It engaged 620 hunters, 650 women, 360 children for two months, requiring 1,210 carts, about the

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[1] The Red River cart was first introduced in 1801 at Pembina by Alexander Henry, of the North West Company (Knox, 1942:40).

[2] The Plains buffalo rutting season occurred during June, and the same occurred for the Woods buffalo in August, at which time the buffalo gathered in large herds. During the latter three months mentioned the buffalo's hide was in prime condition for robes, coats, and the commercial market (Ray, 1971:26-27).

[3] "Alexander Ross furnishes the following census of carts assembled in camp for the "first" (i.e., Spring) hunt at five different periods:

1820.......540 carts
1825.......680 carts (an approximate increase of 24%)
1830.......820 carts (an approximate increase of 22%)
1835.......970 carts (an approximate increase of 18%)
1840......1210 carts (an approximate increase of 25%)"

(Ross, 1856:244 In Roe, 1935:208).

> same number of draught animals, and 403 hunting horses...In addition to tipis and housekeeping equipment, the expedition carried 740 guns, 150 gallons of gun powder, 1,300 pounds of balls, 6,240 flints and hundred of knives, axes and harness sets (1952:259).

Each cart was designed to carry about 900 pounds, with the average, according to Roe (1935:209) being 1000 pounds. The 'monetary value' of the June 15th hunt of 1840 was estimated by Alexander Ross (1856:244, In Roe, 1935:208) to be £24,000.[1] Roe (1935:216) supplements Ross' data by supplying buffalo hunt figures for the period between 1840 and 1874; 1874 being the last year of a Red River based expedition:

> From 1840 to 1845 five expeditions of 1343 carts each killed 261,885 buffaloes.
> From 1845 to 1850 five expeditions of 1648 carts each killed 321,360 buffaloes.
> From 1850 to 1855 five expeditions of 1999 carts each killed 389,805 buffaloes.

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[1] "This is Ross' table of the hunt which left Fort Henry for Pembina on June 15, 1840; in which not merely the numbers are stated but also the suggested monetary value of the expedition. This is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1210 carts at £1 10s. 0d. each............ | £1815 |
| 620 hunters (2 months) at 1s. per day.... | 1860 |
| 650 women (2 months) at 9d. per day...... | 1460 |
| 360 boys and girls (2 months) at 4d. per day.................................... | 360 |
| 403 buffalo runners (i.e., horses) at £15 each................................ | 6045 |
| 655 carthorses at £8 each................ | 3516 |
| Guns, gunpowder, knives, axes, harness, camp equipment, and utensils (approximate estimate)................................ | 3700 |
| | £23,996; |
| | or £24,000 |

From 1855 to 1860 five expeditions of 2436 carts
each killed 475,410 buffaloes.
From 1860 to 1865 five expeditions of 2980 carts
each killed 581,140 buffaloes.
From 1865 to 1870 five expeditions of 3641 carts
each killed 709,995 buffaloes.
From 1870 to 1874 four expeditions of 4354 carts
each killed 679,224 buffaloes.

W.L. Morton (1949:321) points out that by 1859 the buffalo frontier had been pushed west as far as the Cypress Hills.

## Provisioning the Fur Trade

The Metis not only hunted the buffalo to meet their own trophic requirements, but also to meet the demands of the fur trade for pemmican, which was "thereby (able)...to extend...(its)...operations with greater speed and facility" (Pritchett, 1942:266, brackets added).

During the early stages of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly, the Metis had been able to supplement their subsistence requirements with "elk, deer, moose, caribou, smaller fauna, fish and migratory waterfowl" (Ray, 1971:32). In time, however, these food sources became unreliable and the Metis became increasingly dependent upon the buffalo for food and commerce. It was their only alternative if they were to retain an important position within the economic structure of the fur trade. Essential to the economic success of the fur trade was the Metis' ability to keep the warehouses and ice-cellars of the Hudson's Bay Company's various routes fully stocked with fresh and dried meat, and pemmican. Morton explains that

> It was this basic food supply which provided the margin of safety for the posts, the boat brigades of the forest rivers ...(and)...the cart brigades of the Plains. The long haul, the slow collection of furs rested firmly on the provisions afforded by the Plains (Morton, W.L., 1967:1, emphasis added).

## Hunt 'Law'

Concomitant with the importance of the success of the hunt, there evolved among the Metis a system of "customary law" in the form of regulations which were moral laws based on economic necessity. The structure of the Hunt dictated that when the participating members assembled at Pembina or St. Joseph, ten captains were elected by the Metis and one of the ten became Governor of the Hunt. For each of the ten captains there were "ten soldiers who assisted him in maintaining order and enforcing regulations" (Howard, 1952:260). Howard (*Ibid.*) comments that "the hunt's procedure was dictated by custom and few 'laws' were necessary; the standard rules varied little from year to year." The 1840 Regulations were:

1. No buffalo run on Sabbath day.
2. No party to fork off, lag, or go before without permission.
3. No person of party to run buffalo before the general order.
4. Every Captain with his men in turn to patrol

> camp and keep guard.
> 5. For first trespass against these laws, offender to have saddle and bridle cut.
> 6. For second offense, coat to be taken off offender's back and be cut up.
> 7. For third offense, offender to be flogged.
> 8. Any person convicted of theft, even to the value of a sinew, to be brought to the middle of camp, and the crier to call out his or her name three times, adding the word "Thief!" each time (Howard, 1952: 260-261, emphasis added).

It is precisely this form of customary behavior, which must be understood to explain the nature and character of the Metis' actions in 1869-70 and 1885. Certain behavior became a "customary law", or ideology, unique to the Metis, and so long as the buffalo were plentiful, it stimulated solidarity and controlled deviance. This solidarity, combined with the French language and Roman Catholic religion, gave the Metis a sense of unity, which was not exhibited by any other cultural group in the west during this period of time. The declaration that they were the 'Metis Nation', is indicative of the fact that the Metis perceived themselves as having a unique identity.

The status of the Governor of the Hunt was not determined by heredity; it was an achieved status. For example, Abraham Salois, from the St. Albert settlement and Gabriel Dumont were often asked to lead the Edmonton Hunt (Moodie, 1965:103).

> Dumont...took part in the Edmonton Hunt only occasionally, although in the late 1870's he frequently wintered

> with the large number of Metis, mostly Metis from Red River, at the winter buffalo camp at Tail Creek. Dumont was well known from one end of the Plains to (the other), especially for his feats on the hunt (*Ibid.*).

## Education, Racism and Economic Prosperity

In the area of education the Hudson's Bay Company turned to the various religious denominations for assistance.[1] The primary clients were the children of settlers in the Red River settlement, both foreign and locally born, while the ultimate purpose was the maintainance of continuous economic properity.

> The educational policy of the Company appears to have originated with the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, of keeping up the morale of the Company's servants, of encouraging honesty and fair play in trading relations, of education of the Half-breed children in the ways of the whitemen, of maintaining harmony in

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[1] "...not long after the first appearance of native metis in the west many of the young were sent down to French Canada to receive academic and religious instruction. As a result, they became permanently French in speech and Roman Catholic in religion. The process was intensified and made constant, beginning with the year 1818, by the establishment in Assiniboia of a Roman Catholic Mission from Lower Canada" (Pritchett, 1942:269). Foster (1970) points out that in the case of the English speaking mixed-bloods, the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged them to emulate the British example. The values of British-Scottish life were aided by the arrival of the Anglican and Presbyterian churches.

> the Red River Colony, and of preserving for the Company the respect of all (Toombs, 1951:1).

Although this was the 'official policy' of the Company, Sir George Simpson appears to have held a racist position:

> I have always remarked that an enlightened Indian is good for nothing. There are several of them about the Bay side and totally useless, even the Half-Breeds of the country who have been educated in Canada are blackguards of the very worst description, they not only pick up the vices of the whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian in their utmost extent (Merck, 1968:181).

As early as May 20, 1822, Simpson made it clear that he regarded the Indian as a representative of an inferior race, which was to be "ruled with a rod of iron". The objective of this domination was to "keep them in a proper state of subordination", which would make them totally dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company (Merck, 1968:179).

The clergy were not innocent in this respect either, as the following excerpts from a letter to Sir George Simpson from a member of the Clergy, in 1822, points out:

> (Cuthbert)...Grant is turned very serious (religious) and by management will become a useful man to the colony and Company, but he requires good management being an Indian in nature (Pritchett, 1942:234, emphasis added).

The Hudson's Bay Company was directly opposed to agricultural settlement[1] and to the education of the Indian population. While it was expected that education would be extended to the children of retired servants and mixed-bloods, the education of the resident Indian population was viewed with apprehension.

John West, a missionary to Red River, wrote on May 24, 1822:

> It was now hinted to me that the interest I was taking in the education of the native children had already excited the fears of some of the Chief Factors and Traders to the extent to which it might be carried. Though a few conversed liberally with me on the subject there were others who were apprehensive that the extension of knowledge among the natives and the locating of them in agricultural pursuits where practicable would operate as an injury to the fur trade (Innis, 1956:329).

In the following years the Red River Metis began to understand what the underlying economic objectives of the monopoly were, where it concerned education.

As an expression of protest and concern:

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[1] "Sir George Simpson reported to the British head office that no part of the west was suitable for settlement, other than those areas along the rivers. Even then he said the Red River Settlements' difficulties served as an example that the country was at best marginally suited for agriculture" (Mackintosh, 1934:29).

> They employed A.K. Isbister to present their grievances to the British Government. In his Memorial presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1847, the stress was laid upon the attempt to protect the Company's trading interests by permitting 'generation after generation of the helpless race consigned to their care to pass their lives in the darkest heathenism' (Toombs, 1951: 8).

## Cultural Stability

Despite the economic, social and political problems the Metis were confronted with, they were able to maintain their cultural stability. The primary reason for this was the role they played in the fur trade. Without the support of the Metis as suppliers of pemmican and buffalo meat, and as a labor pool, neither the Red River Settlement nor the fur trade would have been nearly as successful. The Metis were essential to the economic success of the Hudson's Bay Company and as long as that necessity remained, the 'core' of Metis culture remained stable. No matter how stable Metis culture was, however, they were still bound to a set of asymmetrical relationships. They had no power in the area of economic and political decision-making. For example, the Metis practice of petitioning the Hudson's Bay Company, to resolve the problems they were experiencing, was never successful. As a result, the Metis either adapted to the Hudson's Bay Company's policies, or they openly confronted them (e.g., the Sayer trial of 1849). The Resistance Movement of 1869 was a confrontation with the government of Canada, not with the Hudson's Bay Company.

## CONCLUSION

The relationship which evolved between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company, to 1869, was one in which the "core" of Metis culture was inextricably dependent upon the economic objectives of the Company. On pages 28-29 it was stated that the Metis culture core included such economic and subsistence activities as 'the Hunt', trapping and fishing, employment as tripmen, guides and interpreters in the river and cart trade, the harvesting of wood and small scale horticulture. Prior to the transfer of power and authority from London to Ottawa the Metis culture core had been stable.

Concomitantly, the Metis had had little, if any, part in the 'domestic administration' of the region, and they were "economically dependent upon and controlled by the mother country", through its representatives, the Hudson's Bay Company (Kennedy, 1945:309). However, they had been able to participate politically on a local level, by virtue of their superior numbers and the threat of violence. This was true not only for the Metis, but also for the English and Scottish Half-Breeds, with whom they had lived in "comparative harmony for many...many years" (Glueck, 1965:254). Barnes (1966:228) refers to this 'local level' phenomenon of political influence as a situation in which the subordinate culture, by virtue of its 'effective participation in the economic and social life of the region (is not, therefore,) exclude(d)...from its political life'. In 1869, however, the Metis found that "in (their) political affairs they had to struggle on a national scale "(*Ibid*.:218, brackets added)."

The Metis Resistance of 1869-70 was a reaction against changes imposed upon their culture core.[1] Louis Riel stated the basic cause of the Red River Resistance when he told the Council of Assiniboia in 1869 that the half-breeds "were uneducated, and only half civilized, and felt, if a large immigration were to take place, they would probably be crowded out of a country which they claimed as their own" (Stanley, 1936:49). The sale of Assiniboia and the northwest by the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000---without including the Metis in the negotiations---, the arrival of the Dominion Surveyors, and the open arrogance and racism of the Canadian Party all served to engender a high level of stress and anxiety. "Principally they feared for their lands" (Pritchett, 1942:269), but they were also concerned about their language, religion and commercial activities. Articles 5, 17, and

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147 , "History of the Halfbreed Claims and Petitions."

18 of the 1870 "List of Rights" are explicit in pointing out these major concerns (see Appendix B, pp. 143 - 146, for the complete list which was submitted to the Canadian government).

Spicer (1952:18) explains that "resistance...(can be viewed)...as a symptom of something wrong in the cross-cultural situation"; for the Metis it was a resistance against "change that...(threatened)...their basic securities," and "they (resisted) being forced to change" (Ibid.).[1] What had been wrong with the Hudson's Bay Company-Metis cross-cultural situation was the exploitative nature of the fur trade economy. By the power of the Charter of 1670 the Company had the authority to make any political or economic decisions it desired. Subsequently, when ~~the~~ fur trade was no longer profitable, the Hudson's Bay Company negotiated directly with the government of Canada, for the sale of the land granted to it in the Charter of 1670. The Metis, on the other hand, had no power or authority to insist that they be part of the negotiations. Therefore, they resisted the Canadian government's take-over of the land until their demands had been met: the granting of 1,400,000 acres of land to the Metis and the Manitoba Act of 1870 met these demands.

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[1] Spicer (Ibid.) includes one other criterion for resistance to change---"changes they do not understand"---However, the Metis leadership did understand what they were resisting.

Between 1821 and 1869, the fur trade economy had created a milieu of mutual benefit to both the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company. It was a colonial situation, however, and it placed the Metis in the position of being politically and economically dependent upon the decisions of the Hudson's Bay Company. The relationship was asymmetrical from its inception. The Metis had been "a population that (was essential to the production of) all the wealth but (who did) not share in its political or economic advantages and (consequently, by 1869, they) constituted an oppressed class" (Balandier, 1966:40, brackets added).

The Metis victory of 1870 was the last victory they were to achieve over a more complex institution or culture. Their ability to adapt to externally stimulated changes was successful within the monopolistic economy of the Hudson's Bay Company: an economic system which, although oppressive, was compatible with the development of Metis culture to 1870. The social, economic and political milieu of the following 15 years, however, did not include this mutually beneficial relationship. The government of Canada had objectives for the future of western Canada, which made it imperative that the Metis rapidly change their life-style.

# CHAPTER THREE

> The history of colonial societies reveals periods during which conflicts are merely latent, when a temporary equilibrium or adjustment has been achieved, and periods during which conflicts rise to the surface and are apparent on one level, according to circumstances (religious, political, and economic). But conflicts expose at the same time the totality of relationships between colonial peoples and colonial powers and between the cultures of each of them...moments when the antagonisms and the gulf between a colonial people and a colonial power are at their maximum and are experienced by the colonial rulers as a challenge to established order, but by the colonial peoples as an effort to regain autonomy (Balandier, 1966:57).

## INTRODUCTION

Between 1870 and 1885 the asymmetrical relationship outlined in Chapter Two became even more distorted in its negative effect on the Metis, the result of which was the religious movement of 1885. The main concern of this chapter will be to focus on the relationship between the Metis and the political and economic policies and practices of the Canadian government during this 15 year period.

Many of the events of this period appear to parallel each other. In some cases this is due to pure coincidence, while in others it is because of an immediate reaction on the part of the Metis to government actions. History, however, is explicit in showing that the Metis were fully aware of the Federal government's plans for the North West Territories. The Metis objected to these proposals because they threatened their attempts to adapt to the rapid social and economic changes they were already confronting.

Land rights and ownership had been the basic cause of the dispute in 1870 and it was also the basic cause of the armed conflict in 1885. The arrangements for the sale of Assiniboia, and the North West Territories, included terms which gave to the Hudson's Bay Company ownership of one-twentieth of the fertile lands in the west, tracts of land around each of its posts (approximately 65,000 acres) and the mineral rights to all of these lands: the total area amounting to over 7,000,000 acres.

Following the sale, the Hudson's Bay Company became a purely commercial operation, no longer possessing the broad powers or obligations outlined in its former monopolistic Charter. However, during the period immediately following the transfer the Company carried on business in much the same manner as they had in preceding years. For the Scottish and English mixed-bloods and the French Metis this was the beginning of a period during which they would be compelled either to adapt to the changes forced upon them or to become anachronisms.

## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1870-1885

The following list of dates and events points out the relationship between the assertion of Canadian control over the North West Territories and the decline of traditional Metis culture.

1870 (a) A disastrous small-pox epidemic struck the Metis and Indian populations of the North West Territories.
(b) The Manitoba Act.
(c) The Dominion Telegraph was completed to Edmonton.

1871 (a) The Dominion Surveys continued in Manitoba and the North West Territories (NWT).
(b) Treaties number 1 and 2 were signed with the Cree and Ojibway.
(c) Postal services introduced to Manitoba and the NWT.

1873 (a) Gabriel Dumont formed a provisional government at St. Laurent.
(b) By June 14, 792,292 acres of land had been surveyed.
(c) The Royal North West Mounted Police were formed.
(d) Treaty number 3 was signed with the Ojibway.
(e) Louis Riel elected to the Federal parliament.

1874 (a) Treaty number 4 signed with the Cree, Saulteaux and Assiniboine.
(b) Last year of the Red River based hunt.
(c) Louis Riel secretly signed the House of Parliament members' register.
(d) Louis Riel expelled from the House of Commons.

1875 (a) Treaty number 5 with the Saulteaux and Swampy Crees.
(b) Louis Riel exiled from Canada for five years.

1876 Treaty number 6 with the Chippewyan, Cree and Assiniboine.

1877 (a) North West Territories Ordinance restricting the hunting of buffalo. Metis and Indian protest had the Ordinance set aside.
(b) Treaty number 7 signed with the Blackfeet.

1878 National Policy of the Dominion government.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1879 | The buffalo had virtually disappeared from Canada. |
| 1881 | Beginning of an intensive three year period of immigration by the Colonization Companies. |
| 1882 | The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was completed to Winnipeg and Regina. |
| 1883 | (a) The end of buffalo hunting in Canada.<br>(b) By June, 61,863,372 acres had been surveyed.<br>(c) The CPR was completed to the Rockies. |
| 1884 | Louis Riel arrived at St. Laurent in June of 1884. |
| 1885 | (a) The CPR was completed to Vancouver.<br>(b) March 26th: The North West Rebellion began at Duck Lake.<br>(c) May 12th: the North West Rebellion ended at Batoche.<br>(d) November 16th: Louis Riel executed for treason. |

## THE METIS: POST-1870

### Racism and Murder

The social, economic and political history of the French speaking Metis during this period is one of perpetual adaptations. Following the Manitoba Act, immigration from central Canada to the Red River Valley accelerated. Almost immediately the Metis began to encounter discrimination, chicanery and open hostility towards themselves and the lands they claimed. Ontario Orangemen were in the forefront of this hostile attitude towards the Metis. Francois Ouillemette, Bob O'Lone, Elzear Goulet, Roger Goulet, and James Tanner were killed and many others were threatened and beaten (Stanley, 1963:161). Other newcomers ignored the river lot claims of the Metis and occupied their lands (Begg, 1894:V. ii, 68). The more aggressive of the immigrants expressed the opinion that "the Metis should be wiped off the face of the globe" (Stanley, 1963:160).

### Westward Migration

The gradual move away from the Red River area after 1870 did not have any immediate detrimental effect upon the Metis culture. They continued to exploit the same natural environment. However, they did so from newly established settlements such as St. Albert, Lac St. Anne, Wood Mountain, Willow Bunch, Qu'Appelle, Batoche, St. Laurent, Prince Albert, Battle River, Cypress Hills, Blackfoot Crossing and Battleford.

> Many migrated to old settlements ...but others formed new communities--St. Laurent, St. Louis, and Batoche on the South Saskatchewan and Duck Lake nearby. Less permanent groups were at Cypress Hills, at the Qu'Appelle Lakes and at Fort Pelly. All of these were French half-breeds. English half-breeds went to Fort Carlton...and to the present site of Prince Albert (Morton, A.S., 1938:64).

As the buffalo were still plentiful in these regions they hunted during the summer and traded and freighted for the Hudson's Bay Company during the winter. Thus, they continued to devote very little attention to agriculture, and even less time to animal husbandry. The economic network of exchange had been altered, in terms of external relations, but so long as the buffalo remained a reliable source of subsistence, the Metis' economy remained stable.

## Migration as an Adaptive Measure

The annual migration from the Red River Valley to the plains continued as it had before the Resistance of 1869-1870, with "hundreds of Metis...traveling further across the plains (each year) in search of buffalo hides and meat" (Stanley, 1963:234). The clergy expressed the opinion that the Metis were making no attempt to avail themselves of the changes occurring in Manitoba and that they would lose their lands to the immigrants because of their extended absence on the Plains. This did occur and as the social environment of the Red River became increasingly unattractive, great numbers of Metis either did not return from the hunt or migrated directly to the North West without any intentions of returning. Some went to already established settlements, where other Red River Metis had migrated during the 1860's, or they created new settlements from which they carried on the hunt:

> The largest number went to the Fort Edmonton area, attracted by the settlements already in existence there. In 1863, when drought seriously jeopardized the harvest of the colony, several fixed their choice on Lake St. Anne. In 1865, and especially 1866, large numbers of Metis went to St. Albert and Lake St. Anne, adding to the cores of population which were already established there. Still others left to try their luck among the gold prospectors of the Saskatchewan.
>
> The events which followed the Insurrection magnified this exodus without modifying its characteristics. Just as in the past, two groups of migrants left the Red River and the outposts of the Assiniboine and Pembina Rivers. The first group moved toward the settlements which were slowly growing up around the missions of the West. A second, much larger group went to swell the ranks of the winter-rovers, who, lacking any particular ties, moved about according to whatever opportunities of subsistence they might come upon. Between these two groups there was in fact no sharp distinction. For both groups, life was

> nomadic--for some it was continuously so, and for others merely interruptedly --with more or less prolonged sojourns in dwellings which were built either close to former missions or in the new settlements then being formed through the Prairies (Giraud, 1945: 2, 3).

## Population and Population Distribution

D.W. Moodie (1965), in The St. Albert Settlement: A Study in Historical Geography, states that in 1871 there were approximately "4,000 French Metis in the North-West between Fort Ellice and Fort Edmonton...about 500 (of whom) were employed by the Company." More specifically, Moodie cites the following population data for settlements within the current province of Alberta:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| St. Albert........... | 700 | French Metis |
| Lac Ste. Anne........ | 300 | French Metis |
| Lac La Biche......... | 300 | French Metis |
| Victoria............. | 150 | English Canadian and Mixed-Bloods |
| White Fish Lake...... | 150 | English Mixed-Bloods and Indians |

(Moodie, 1965:93)

Any attempt to give the precise numbers of Metis in the North West Territories during this period is impossible. Dominion census takers attempted it and failed. The clergy attempted to keep count as well, through recording of births and deaths. But the nomadic Metis often did not show up at the missions for three or four years at a time. "In the Qu'Appelle River area, in 1878, there were thought to be some 300 families permanently moving around on the Prairies, content to appear at the missions only when chance took them there (Giraud, 1945:12)." Superintendent Walsh's Annual Report to the Department of the Interior in 1879 (1880:Pt. III,11) includes the following Wood Mountains census figures:

> Wood Mountain, 16th December 1879
>
> 5th January--Half-Breed Census
>
> Half-Breed census duly taken in the immediate vicinity of this post on the 13th inst., in accordance with instructions from the Assistant Commissioner.
>
> On the 5th inst., I proceed eastward along this mountain and found as follows:

| | Families | | Persons |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 miles from post, at Grant's Village.... | 25 | Numbering | 169 |
| 40 miles from Grant's, at Portras' Village on Big Muddy River....... | 8 | " | 63 |
| 15 miles from Portras' in Bonneau Village also on Big Muddy River................. | 4 | " | 32 |
| 4 miles from Bonneau at Bellegarde......... | 5 | " | 40 |

> In this last the inhabitants claimed to be American Half-Breeds, and stated that, with the exception of one house, the remainder of the village was on the American side of Boundary line. As on examination (although I could not exactly decide) I believed it to be so, I did not include it in census returns.

By comparison,

> In this same area of Wood Mountain, in 1871, there were "groups of 100 and 150 families" (Giraud, 1945:12).

Because of three principal factors it is difficult to compute an accurate population figure for the nomadic Metis: (1) the census counts were not regular; (2) the winter-camps were not always located in the same area from year to year--in the case of the more southerly Canadian Metis, wintering could have been anywhere along a line from Wood Mountain through the Cypress Hills area to the foothills of the Rockies, and; (3) as the ecology of the regions varied, the number of people it could support would be a determining factor. As M. Giraud points out:

> The nomads were often obliged to move between these different points. Their wanderings, which were contingent upon those of the animals, would take them to hill after hill, from Wood Mountain to the Rocky Mountains. Sometimes they would scatter at random when buffalo were scarce, dividing themselves into very small groups in much the same manner as the forest Indian tribes. (1945:13-14)

There are, however, population figures which can be used that are quite reliable. These are the figures given by members of the clergy and the Federal government for specific areas at specific time periods. These figures also became more accurate by the late 1870's as nomadism was outmoded as a subsistence activity due to the decimation of the buffalo herds and a sedentary, agricultural life style became a necessity. For example, in 1879, there were about 400 French Metis at the St. Laurent settlements, and approximately 50 more at Duck Lake[1] (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1878:Pt. III, 14).

The 1878 census of St. Laurent, Duck Lake and Ft. Carlton appears to be more accurate than the 'estimates' of 1877:[2]

> The following was the census of St. Laurent and Duck Lake in December, 1878:
>
> | | St. Laurent | Duck Lake |
> |---|---|---|
> | Adult Males................. | 123 | 45 |
> | Adult Females............... | 103 | 33 |
> | Males between 18 and 21.... | 24 | 10 |
> | Females between 18 and 21.. | 24 | 11 |
> | Males under 18.............. | 150 | 56 |
> | Females under 18............ | 158 | 52 |
> | Total | 582 | 207 |
>
> Around Carlton a small community grew up. Five miles to the south-east William Diehl established a sheep ranch. By 1878 the settlement around the old trading post embraced a total population of 51 souls, comprising 19 adult males, 10 adult females, 2 females between 18 and 21, 9 males under 18 and 11 females under 18 (Oliver, 1925: 87).

The Metis of St. Laurent, within the Prince Albert region of the North West Territories, were a good example of semi-nomadic people who subsisted by hunting, but who also were fully aware of the ecological and economic changes occurring around them. Montague Aldous, DLS, in his 1878 report to the Surveyor General, Lindsay Russel, wrote that:

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[1] This figure most likely represents heads of families considering the census figures for 1878.

[2] The obvious increases are probably due to either increased migration into the settlements or the fact that the census was taken in December, when a greater proportion of the semi-nomadic Metis had returned from the Hunt.

> The entire population of St. Laurent consists of French Half-Breeds, who, with few exceptions, live by buffalo hunting. They simply farm sufficient land to provide themselves with grain and vegetables for their winter use; they, nevertheless, fully understand the advantage of securing land, being well aware that, in a very few years, the buffalo will be completely exterminated, and that then they will be compelled to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits.
>
> There are numerous large hay meadows in the rear of the settlement, from one to two miles from the river. This hay is cut and stacked in the autumn season, and furnishes abundance of fodder for their large bands of horses during the winter months. (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1879:Pt. II, 24-25).

The following census of 1881 is revealing, in that the population was enumerated according to ethnicity. For example, the Prince Albert figure of 825 French indicates that this area had the largest concentration of French Metis west of the Red River area of Manitoba.

> The population of that part of the Territories included in the present Province of Saskatchewan

> as at the census of 1881
> was as follows:

| | Cumber-land | Qu'Appelle | Wood Mountain | Prince Albert | Battle-ford | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| African | .... | .... | 1 | .... | .... | 1 |
| Dutch | .... | .... | 2 | .... | 7 | 9 |
| English | 37 | 52 | 73 | 528 | 194 | 884 |
| French | 50 | 474 | 275 | 825 | 475 | 2,069 |
| German | .... | .... | 2 | 19 | .... | 21 |
| Irish | .... | 23 | .... | 131 | 48 | 202 |
| Scandinavian | .... | .... | .... | 6 | 11 | 17 |
| Scotch | 61 | 99 | 49 | 651 | 106 | 966 |
| Not given | 2 | .... | 7 | 1 | 11 | 21 |
| Total | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 4,230 |
| Indians | 1125 | 4593 | 4143 | 1075 | 3978 | 14,914 |

(Oliver, 1925:101)

## Employment in the Transport Trade

With the advent of free trade, competition increased and the Hudson's Bay Company, of necessity, moved further into the more remote regions making the transportation costs, both ways, more expensive (Innis, 1967:357). Replacement of the York boats with river boats made transportation more efficient. From this time on, however, the Company only provided seasonal employment for the Metis and Indians of the region:

> During the navigation season the lower ranks of the service were recruited chiefly from Half-Breeds and Indians in the country. These labourers were hired by the day or by the trip for the heavy work of loading and unloading. As a result no adequate personnel policy was followed. Deck hands hired on for one trip for the experience, for odd things which could be picked up in the freight, and for the wages. In many instanc-

> es the results were not in the best interests of efficient transportation but on the other hand efficient mates did perform miracles in the work accomplished (Innis, 1967:353).

This employment practice occurred not long after the Cart and York boat brigade had dominated the provisioning of the trading posts between the Red River and the Saskatchewan River. With the steady improvement in the riverboat transportation system during the late 1870's the cart trade between Red River and the Saskatchewan River began to decline. However, the cart trade was still very active north of the South Saskatchewan River:

> In 1876, between four and five thousand carts were loaded in Winnipeg to cross the plains. Each cart carried on an average a thousand pounds of provisions and other supplies, and was drawn by a single animal. The majority of the trails followed old Hudson's Bay Company routes. Many ran from Manitoba westward, a great trail connected the boundary line, Fort MacLeod, Calgary, Edmonton, and via old Fort Assiniboine to the confluence of the Smokey River with the Peace River. The plain still swarmed with buffalo. The Indians, many of whom, like the warlike Blackfeet, were still untractable and hostile, lived on the product of the chase. The period of transition coincides roughly with Lieutenant-Governor Laird's tenure of office. The buffalo rapidly disappeared. Treaties were nogotiated with the Indians (Doughty and Shortt, 1914:158-159).

> Goods were sent...from three points on the Saskatchewan to the interior, Cumberland House, Fort Carlton, and Edmonton. The Saskatchewan became a base line of transportation (Innis, 1967:344).

## CANADIAN INFLUENCE[1]

### The National Policy

The Federal government's plan was to utilize land as an incentive for not only immigration but to subsidize, through grants and sale, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Government policy reflected a colonial attitude characterized by an exploitative approach towards the west. The National Policy (1878) of Sir John A. MacDonald's Conservative party was designed to put Canada on a more sound economic basis:

> In its most elementary form the National Policy meant a protective tariff for Canadian industry; but it meant more than just a tariff. It also meant a return to vigorous government support for railway building, immigration, and overall economic development (Cook, 1971:123).

> During the elections campaign (1878) he (MacDonald) had also promised to raise the tariff to protect Canadian industry and to stimulate new economic

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[1] see Appendix E, pp. 180-210, for detailed descriptions of the policies and practices of the Federal Government regarding the granting, distribution and sale of land in Manitoba and the North West Territories.

> growth within a transcontinental economy. Finally, more people were needed to build up the home market for Canadian products. When the empty plains were filled, they would become the breadbasket of the nation. Western wheat would be shipped along the new railway line to be exchanged for Eastern manufactured goods (Cook, 1971:124).

This protection of industry through tariffs favored central Canada. In essence it again put the people of the North West into a position of economic dependency upon an outside power. Where it concerned the allocation of land for settlement and agricultural development in the North West, "the result was that of thirty-six sections in a township, only eight were open to homesteads, the remainder being reserved for pre-emption, the Hudson's Bay Company, school and railway purposes" (Stanley, 1936:190).

## The Surveys

The surveying of the Northwest had begun in 1869 and after a one year lapse, began again in 1871. The survey system was similar to that used in the United States and was comprised of townships, sections (36), and quarter sections (160 acres). The federal government, in 1870, proclaimed that "all rights to land acquired in advance of the survey would be duly recognized" (Stanley, 1936:188). This statement rose out of the confrontation in 1869-1870 between the Metis and the federal government, and became a significant factor again in 1885 on the South Saskatchewan.

> During the next thirteen years...
>
> The survey progressed rapidly. By June 1, 1873, 4,792,292 acres or 29,952 quarter sections had been surveyed...By June 1883, 61,863,772 acres had been surveyed in the North-west providing for 380,399 homesteads, which, on the basis of three people to the homestead, would provide for an agricultural population of 1,141,197 (Stanley, 1936:188).
>
> G.F.G. Stanley points out that:
>
> The land policy (of the Dominion Government) was not a popular one. Liberal as the terms were, the constant changes in the Dominion land regulations and the large areas of land withheld from the operation of the homestead law, discouraged prospective immigration and retarded the spontaneous growth of village communities (1936:187; Also, see Appendix E, pp. 180-210 ).

## Colonization Schemes

In an effort to encourage a rapid settlement of the North West, the government began granting large tracts of land to colonization companies.[1]

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[1] "...almost 30 colonization contracts were entered into as a means to raise cash for railway construction" (Wright, 1955:72. Also see Appendix E, pp.180-210, for the legislation regarding the establishment and operation of a colonization company).

> These Companies entered into contract with the government to bring settlers to reserved areas at the rate of $120.00 for each bona fide settler. Some Companies brought in not a single settler. Only seven succeeded in placing more than 50 settlers each in Saskatchewan:
> The Saskatchewan Land and Homestead Company;
> The York Farmer's Colonization Company;
> The Dominion Lands Colonization Company;
> The Primitive Methodist Colonization Company;
> The Touchwood and Qu'Appelle Colonization Company;
> The Montreal and Western Land Company.
> These Companies operated, for the most part, in Eastern Saskatchewan, in the vicinity of Yorkton. One of these Companies, however, the Temperance Colonization Company, founded Saskatoon (Wright, 1955: 72).

The colonization companies were active for about three years, starting with the fiscal year, 1881-82. In that year the sale of land accrued $354,036.17 to the Department of the Interior. In the following two years the capital return dropped to $248,492.01 and $253,713.40 respectively, and in the year ending 1885 only $1,214.22 worth of land was purchased for colonization purposes (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1886:xii). E. Dewdney, Lt. Governor of the North West Territories reported to the Minister of the Interior, in 1883, that:

> The colonization companies are intimately connected with the

> rapid progress of the Territory, but I may observe here that their establishment has been closely watched by our population, in some cases with even considerable uneasiness. (Canada, Annual Report to the Department of the Interior, 1884:Pt. IV, p. 7)

It was not surprising then, when in the 1886 Annual Report (Ibid.:xxxiii) it was stated "that of 250 claimants (Metis) in that district (Qu'Appelle) entitled to land or scrip, only two took land". The reason for this less than one percent choice for land cannot be laid entirely upon the encroachment of agriculture.[1] As this report is for 1885, it can be assumed that the Rebellion on the South Saskatchewan River was a contributing factor in the Qu'Appelle Metis decision against settling directly along the main line of the Eastern Canadian expansion.

## Large and Small Scale Agriculture

Another experiment in land settlement was the granting of large tracts of land to individuals for farming purposes.

> The Bell farm will illustrate the experiment of the large farm. Major Bell, who selected the site at Troy in May, 1882, had free scope for choice as the nearest station was then 200 miles distant. His men and

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147-177, "The Half-Breed Claims and the Rebellions".

> their teams took five weeks for their journey from Brandon. It was mentioned at the time as a proof of the rapid development of the country that within one month of their arrival Major Bell was able to travel to Winnipeg in a sleeping car of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The project was that of a wheat farm of 100 square miles, or 64,000 acres. This area, with the exception of one square mile given up for the town of Indian Head and the line of railway which passed through the middle of the farm, was contained within uninterrupted boundaries. By selling the land to the workers it was the impression the Canadian Pacific Railway decided to establish experimental farms along the railway track at no less than 10 different stations in the district about which the rumors were current. Six of these farms were in Saskatchewan-Secretan, Rush Lake, Swift Current, Gull Lake, Maple Creek, and Forres (Oliver, 1926:65, 66, 68).

By the end of 1885 the Canadian surveyors had surveyed 418,847-160 acre farms. The following table shows the amount of surveying completed by the end of 1885 and it also indicates when the greatest amount of activity took place. The years 1880 to 1883 reflect the previously mentioned objectives of the MacDonald government's National Policy (1878):

| | Acres | No. of Farms of 160 acres each |
|---|---|---|
| Previous to June, 1873... | 4,792,292 | 29,952 |
| In 1874.................. | 4,237,864 | 26,487 |
| 1875.................. | 665,000 | 4,156 |
| 1876.................. | 420,507 | 2,628 |
| 1877.................. | 231,691 | 1,448 |
| 1878.................. | 306,936 | 1,918 |
| 1879.................. | 1,130,482 | 7,066 |
| 1880.................. | 4,472,000 | 27,950 |
| 1881.................. | 9,147,000 | 50,919 |
| 1882.................. | 9,460,000 | 55,125 |
| 1883.................. | 27,000,000 | 168,750 |
| 1884.................. | 6,400,000 | 40,000 |
| 1885.................. | 391,680 | 2,448 |
| Total number of farms | | 418,847[1] |

> The agricultural population these lands will sustain on the basis of five souls to a homestead, would be 2,094,235.[2] (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1886:xxxi)

## Ranching

Ranching, as an industry, also began to make a significant impact on the economy of the North West Territories by the mid-1880's. By 1884, 1,785,690 acres of grazing land had been leased to individuals and companies operating in southwestern Alberta (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1885:Pt. 1,

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[1] Anyone reading the Annual Report of 1885 should note that the total number of farms should be 416,399 and not 420,399.

[2] Prior to 1885 the estimated agricultural population was based upon "three souls to a homestead".

33). In 1885, the Annual Report stated there were 58 leases in force, "covering an area of 2,087,670 acres" (Ibid.: 1886:Pt. 1, 66) and that this region alone grazed "over 40,000 head of cattle and horses, and 10,000 head of sheep" (Ibid.:xxvii). Alexander Begg's (1875:Vol. III, 443), 1881 figures for livestock in the North West Territories and Manitoba "was as follows: Horses--27,609; cattle--73,153; sheep--6,419; hogs--20,198."

## Grain Production

Cereal grain production also increased rapidly as more acreage came under cultivation. The Manitoba crop of 1880 yielded 1,153,328 bushels and in the following year 250,000 bushels were exported. By 1886 the wheat export trade had increased to 4,000,000 bushels (Begg, 1895:Vol. III, 440).

## Transportation and Communication

Concomitant with these rapid changes was the equally rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Winnipeg and Regina had been reached in 1882, the Rockies in 1883, and in 1885 the railway was completed to Vancouver (Thomas, 1970:7). With a more accessible export market the farming and ranching possibilities attracted ever increasing numbers of immigrants.

Other public services extant shortly after 1871 included postal services and the Dominion telegraph which had been extended to Edmonton by 1870 (Innis, M.Q., 1954:219).

## Financial Institutions, Entrepreneurs and Speculators

The expansionist policy of the Federal government, which was designed to meet the needs of the Dominion and not the immediate problems of the area destined for further exploitation, gave encouragement to another form of capitalistic organization to move west:

> Organizations for the gathering and distribution of capital, which had grown up in eastern Canada, extended their facilities to meet the demands of the West. Toronto mortgage firms, banks and insurance companies opened branches in Winnipeg. On the other hand, merchants engaged in the fur trade and long-established in the West, took on other kinds of business, and Ontario and Quebec mercantile houses set up branches in Winnipeg. In 1884, it was estimated that there were in Winnipeg seventy-five wholesale and jobbing houses (Innis, M.Q., 1954:225).

As Manitoba and the North West opened up to Canadians following 1870, an entrepreneurial group of land speculators moved in. This group generally made themselves unpopular with government officials, eastern immigrants and the Metis who were entitled to land or scrip under the Manitoba Act of 1870. When the Red River Metis faced increased amounts of discrimination, they sold their tracts of land to speculators for a fraction of the value. When the railroad pushed further west this same phenomenon occurred wherever it appeared that settlement would occur: it occurred along both the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway and in more notherly regions where concentrations of settlers were purchasing land. In 1882 A. Walsh, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, in his Report to the Department of the Interior (1883:Pt. 1, 3) commented on this form of usury:

> Complications are constantly arising out of the recognition of squatters' rights. There are men, and not a few of them, who make a profit out of taking possession of lands, putting up a tent, breaking a few acres, and then levying a contribution from the actual settler looking for a location, for the giving up of the possession so obtained. These fictitious squatters then go on and repeat the same operation, frequently on several occasions in the same season. It is a well ascertained fact that capitalists have men employed by the month for the purpose of perpetuating a practice so prejudicial to the interests of the bona fide settler. Under the existing law, recognizing the rights of squatters, so long as the lands are not required for railway or other public purposes, it is difficult to check the pernicious system complained of: but, in the passing of a new Bill, I trust provision will be made for ascertaining the bona fides of a squatter before he shall either be entitled to an entry himself or be allowed to stand in the way of the man who, in good faith, is seeking a homestead.

Inspector Wm. Pearce, of the Dominion Land Agencies reported to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, in 1882, that:

> One of the great evils of this country is the quantity of land homesteaded and not occupied. Immense areas are--and have been in some cases, for years--held locked up, principally to satisfy the ambition of speculators. This could be remedied by a thorough inspection of homesteads at least once a year; and, where the requirements for the Act are not complied with, cancel the entry and throw the land open for re-entry (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1833:Pt. 1,6).

Further on Inspector Pearce describes the methods utilized in this "speculative squatting":

> Along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the Qu'Appelle District, there is one great trouble regarding homesteading which will have to be met next year. Many parties have gone ahead of the townships being opened for entry, and after the survey was begun did a little breaking, varying generally from one-half to four or five acres, and erected a small shanty--or which is stated in affidavits as such--which in many cases is not more than a few poles. Sometimes one person will make the above amount of improvements on several quarter sections. This "squatting", so called, is done by a ring of speculators. At each station of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the vicinity of the lands so improved, there is one of the ring or its agents placed. He meets the settler looking for land, informs him all the land in that vicinity is taken up; but, for a consideration,

> varying from $100 to $1,000, he will buy out the party holding a claim, and then entry by the purchaser can be made for it . (Ibid.: 1883:Pt. 1,7).

Financial institutions were directly responsible, also, for many of the problems cited by Inspector Pearce:

> Speculation in lands was assisted largely by banks and loan companies, who brought a very large amount of capital into the country in 1881 and 1882. Professional homesteaders appeared who obtained titles only to sell their land and make second entries (Innis, M.Q., 1954:221).

During 1881 and 1882 speculators bought approximately 60% of the half-breed claims in the Qu'Appelle area; paying an initial low downpayment. When the economic boom declined the speculators refused to honor their commitments and the land reverted to the original owner. Many of these original claimants had, however, moved on to other regions (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1886:Pt. 1, 17).

## DECIMATION OF THE BUFFALO HERDS

Many of the Metis who had immigrated to the North West had done so primarily because of their desire to continue their traditional economic activities of "the hunt". Fresh buffalo meat and pemmican were still in demand by both the Hudson's Bay Company and by Canadian immigrants. This ideal situation, however, did not last long. By 1874, the Metis of the Qu'Appelle area were experiencing the hardships of a decline in the buffalo populations.

Indian Commissioner J.A.N. Provencher reported that during the Treaty Four negotiations at Qu'Appelle, the Cree made two points clear before they would sign the treaty: "They objected to the reserve having been surveyed for the Hudson's Bay Company, without their first having been consulted, and claimed that the L300,000 paid to the company should be paid to them" (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1875:XX--XXI), and "that the Metis should be allowed to hunt" (Ibid.:XXI).

The same Annual Report (1874) clearly stated that the changes occuring in the North West were having a detrimental effect on both the Indians and Metis:

> It is a well known fact that the hunt is rapidly decreasing every year, and is now profitable only to those who travel a considerable distance and who are never themselves entirely from the settlements.
>
> At the same time the system of navigations inaugerated on the lakes and rivers of those Territories, leaves without work a great many of those who gained a livelihood in that line of work (Ibid.:Pt. 1, 33).

The hunt and employment with the Hudson's Bay Company were rapidly disappearing as traditional Metis economic activities. The buffalo frontier in the North West was, over a ten year period, pushed further west and south, creating extreme hunting pressure. With the demand for robes and skins still high in the United States the Metis hunters concentrated in the southern regions of Alberta.[1]

The export figures for Fort Walsh and Fort McLeod during the final years of the 1870's are indicative of the irreversible trend begun many years before to the east and north:[2]

Quantity of buffalo robes exported from Fort Walsh and Fort McLeod during two years:--

FORT WALSH

| | 1878 | 1879 |
|---|---|---|
| Buffalo robes | 16,897 | 8,277 |
| Cow skins | 1,140 | 240 |
| Calf skins | 198 | 100 |

FORT MCLEOD

| | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robes | 30,000 | 12,797 | 5,764 |

(Begg, 1894:V. 11, 253; also see Roe, 1934:15)

The result of this "intensive trade-motivated hunting" destroyed the buffalo populations, and the economy which was dependent upon the buffalo (Patterson, 1972:124; also Canada, Report of the Secretary of State (1878, 1879) Appendix D, pp. 20-29, reported by J.F. McLeod, RNWMP Commissioner, P. 22).

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[1] Many Metis went south of the 49th parallel into the Milk River (Montana) and the Judith Basin (Wyoming) regions. However, the U.S. Army continually arrested them and forced them north into Canadian Territory.

[2] (a) These figures are presented to indicate the rapidity of the ultimate destruction of the buffalo, as both a subsistence item and a commerical product.
(b) See also, pp.50-52 , for the buffalo hunt figures from 1820 to 1874. A comparison of these figures shows how rapidly the buffalo population had declined.

## TOTAL DOMINATION = TOTAL DEPENDENCY

The introduction and development of wholly Canadian institutions in the North West Territories and Manitoba coincided with the decline of traditional Metis culture, as exemplified by partial or total nomadism and exploitation of the buffalo as a basic subsistence item. The Federal government through its "National Policy" had effectively negated any decision-making input by the Metis. Combined with the politicization of the western economy was the introduction of banking and other financial institutions with home offices in central Canada. Within less than 15 years, central Canada, through governmental and private enterprise, secured control of the real and liquid assets of Manitoba and the North West Territories. This colonial situation of economic dependency was reinforced by direct political control (Singham and Singham, 1973:268) and consequently, the Metis were politically dependent as well.

The steady flow of homesteaders, ranchers and businessmen into the North West created an economy in which the Metis were superfluous. The prior functional interdependence of the fur trade economy disappeared. A superordinate culture persisted--although the colonial base had shifted from London to Ottawa--and increased in complexity, while the economically dependent Metis were forced to discover alternative modes of survival. There was a limit to how long the two cultures could co-exist. Singham and Singham in "Cultural Domination and Political Subordination: Notes Towards a Theory of the Caribbean Political System" (1973:262) state that "while the dominant culture in a particular system tends to destroy its subordinate culture, in some instances it allows the subordinate culture to co-exist in a dormant way." What, for the Metis, had once been a compatible interactive system, began to fall apart during the 1870's. They were no longer essential to the social and economic survival of the dominant culture.

Singham and Singham review Leslie White's, The Science of Culture (1949), in which White states that "a culture has the capacity to sustain itself primarily by its ability to adapt its technology to the changing environment. This includes the organizational structure in which it is used" (Ibid.:262). However, if a successful adaptation is dependent upon the sanction and assistance of the dominant culture, and that prerequisite for change is not forthcoming, the subordinate culture will be destroyed. Implicit within this concept of culture change, as it applied to the Metis, is the assumption that the Metis were cognizant of the situation they were in and had perceived a strategy for a successful adaptation to a sedentary, agricultural life style.

The Metis petitions to the Territorial and Federal governments, indicate that the Metis were fully aware of the changes they had to make in order to survive. The technology of 'the Hunt' had become obsolete, therefore, the Metis requested assistance in adapting to the new technology of agriculture. The Metis 'culture core' was undergoing a rapid change. For instance, prior to the Canadian takeover of the North West Territories, the Metis culture core included such features as the annual cycle of 'the Hunt', employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, nomadism, employment as guides and interpreters, suppliers of wood and part-time horticulturalists. During this fifteen year period, however, 'the Hunt' disappeared, employment with Hudson's Bay Company became only seasonal and, thus, unreliable as a source of income and, consequently, the nomadic way of life became obsolete. 'The Hunt' and the Hudson's Bay Company had been the two essential features of the Metis subsistence activities and economics; their culture core.

With these changes, the Metis were forced to place increased emphasis on agriculture as their primary subsistence activity and economy. Having had no previous experience as farmers, the Metis asked for assistance from the Federal government; they wanted tools, equipment, seed and title to the land they occupied.

The Federal government offered no assistance to the Metis. The technology of agriculture was so foreign to the technology of 'the Hunt' and Hudson's Bay Company employment, that the Metis did not have the "ability to adapt its technology to the changing environment" (White, 1949, in Singham and Singham, 1973:Fn. 9, 262). Therefore, the Metis were totally dependent on the Federal government, if they were effectively to change their culture core. The following pages will show that by its recalcitrance, the dominant Federal government destroyed the subordinate Metis culture.

## THE PETITIONS

As the Metis' position became more tenuous, they reacted with deliberate attempts to resolve the issue through petitioning the Territorial and the Federal governments.[1] The initial petitions from the North West were mainly concerned with the settling of land claims, either as a consequence of the Manitoba settlements, or because of the extinguishment of the Indian claims brought about by the Treaties. In following years, however, the Metis requested economic and social assistance through traditionally acceptable political action. The Metis acceptance of the necessity for change came to mean more than the settlement of the land question. They asked for capital to purchase farm implements and dairy and beef cattle. In addition, they petitioned the government for the establishment of social services such as schools and hospitals. These were the alternatives the Metis perceived as being capable of effectively obviating or reducing the amount of stress inherent in the changed environment to which they were forced to adapt.

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147-177 , for the "History of the Half-breed Claims and Petitions."

The September 11, 1874 petition from the 'half-breeds of Lake Qu'Appelle',[1] was submissive and respectful in its wording. The 'half-breeds' requested that their hunting, fishing and trading rights be honoured, that legal institutions be established and enforced, that t[illegible] Roman Catholic Mission be allowed to continue its operations and that 'half-breeds' lands not be alienated (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1875:31).

The petition from Blackfoot Crossing, in 1877, pointed out not only the problems the Metis were encountering, but it was also indicative of the Metis' experience in the North West Territories:

> Before the year of the small-pox: 1870, memorable for its disastrous effects on the native population of this country, we, your petitioners, although not rich, were, however, in comfortable circumstances. We had small homes of our own near

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[1] Signed by Augustine Brabant to Governor Alexander Morris.

Edmonton, and cultivated the soil more or less. Hunting was plentiful and we were encouraged by the Hudson Bay Company to follow it as much as possible, because their only interest in the country was the fur trade. They were the only merchants amongst us, and this unique interest prevented them from giving any encouragement to the husbandman, and, consequently, from bringing farming implements for sale, except very few, which were sold at such an enormous price that the poor man could not think of buying them. Thus, Hon. Sir, the only encouragement to farming was given by the ministers of the different denominations in our country and their means also were limited. It was by their advice and assistance that we took to farming as much as our poverty would allow us. Our little gardens, our few cattle and the produce of our hunt supplied us with plenty and we were happy. But the year 1870 came, that year so terrible to remember, in which the dire malady decimated the whole population, and following in its wake was famine. This combination of evils ruined us, driving us from our homes and compelling us to lead an entirely nomadic life, as the Indians on the plains. Since that time we have had nothing to depend upon but our guns. The game we kill feeds ourselves and our families, and the furs we gather are our only money wherewith to buy clothing, and God knows we do not see how we are to rise above our present condition. It is on this account, Hon. Sir, that we now appeal to the charity you bear towards all your subjects...

We humbly approach you to-day and beg you to help us. The help we implore is farming implements and seed to begin with. We want to

> settle and till the land, but we have no capital--nothing at all to start with. Also, Hon. Sir, we beg that the game laws be not too stringent, until such time as we have something else to subsist on; otherwise we shall be unable to live. (Epitome of Parliamentary Documents in Connection with the Northwest Rebellion--1885, 1886: 292-293).

Another petition from St. Laurent, in 1878, expressed many of the same concerns while clarifying the problems of shifting to an agricultural economy:

> The sudden transition from a prairie life to an agricultural life, caused by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo and the hunting ordinance of the North-West Council, has reduced your petitioners to the last extremity, and compels them to apply to the Dominion Government for help in farm implements and seed grain, such as has been granted to certain foreign immigrants in the Province of Manitoba. Farm implements are exceedingly scarce, and the prices are so high that it is simply impossible for your petitioners to procure them; and hence, should the Government be unable to grant this help, many of your petitioners, notwithstanding their anxiety to return to prairie life at the risk of infringing the ordinance providing for the protection of the buffalo, however just that ordinance may be, inasmuch as the period during (which) hunting is permitted is too short and the buffalo is now too scarce to enable them to lay in a sufficient supply for themselves and

> families for the remainder of the year. (Ibid.: 317)[1]

In a statement, which was characteristic of the Federal government's political attitude towards the Metis, Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald, in 1881, reported to the Governor General of Canada that:

> The condition of the Half-Breeds population of the Territories, and the claims which have been referred on their behalf to be dealt with somewhat similarly to those of the Half-Breeds of the Red River, have been receiving careful consideration, with a view to meeting them reasonably. (Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1882: 6).

This "careful consideration" was not replaced with action until it was too late--March of 1885 (Stanley, 1936:250). The Qu'Appelle River Metis petition of 1882 was very different from the petition submitted from that area in 1874. By 1882 the land had been surveyed, the colonization companies were in full operation, the Canadian Pacific Railroad was operating in the region and immigration was at its peak. The 1882 petition was another example of the basis for the conflict of interests between the dominant political and economic interests of central

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[1] The North West Territories Council Ordinance of 1877 prohibited the use of buffalo pounds, running buffalo over cliffs and the killing of buffalo for their tongues and hides. Also, it stated that hunting was prohibited between November and August; a period of ten months. The Metis and Indians protested, and this Ordinance was set aside by the Territorial Council (Stanley, 1963: 255).

Canada, and the Metis' desire for security and stability:

> 1. That as far back as the year 1870, and up to 1879, we settled or squatted on the banks of the Qu'Appelle River, erected comfortable dwellings and outbuildings thereon...and, by continual residence have compied with all the Government conditions...
>
> 2. That the surveys lately made have discovered some of us to be on railway land, now owned by the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company whose agent has informed us that we must either buy the land from them or move off--in fact we are informed that they have sold some of the land at present occupied by a bona fide settler.
>
> 3. That we have refused to comply with the request of the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company, and claim a patent from the Crown for our respective pieces of land...fully believing that we are justly and legally entitled to the same. (Ibid.: 314-315)

## Partial Success: St. Laurent

Not all of the Metis in the North West Territories were poverty stricken individuals. Some had already established themselves as farmers and merchants, thus having made a successful adaptation to the new economic system rapidly developing in the North West Territories. This they had done without clear title to the land they occupied. For example,

> In May, 1884, George Duck took

> statements from the Metis in the St. Laurent Parish in order to establish their claim to certain River Lots along the Saskatchewan River. These applications give the name and age of the Metis, the number in his family, the number of the River Lot he claimed, in some cases the place of birth, the date he came to the North West and the date on which he settled his claim, and the improvements made by the settler. Very few of the Metis had large cultivated fields, most being about 12-15 acres, but the descriptions of the houses are particularly interesting. Some of the houses were valued as low as $20.00, others as high as $400.00. Two Metis had particularly good dwellings, Emmanuel Champagne, who claimed River Lots 43 and 44 in the Settlement stated that he had a two-story frame house, 22 ft. by 28 ft., with a shingle roof, which he valued at $2,500.00. He also had smaller outbuildings consisting of a stable, trading shop and storehouse which he valued at $1,000.00. The most affluent member of the community was possibly Xavier Letendre (dit Batoche). He claimed three and a half lots of the St. Laurent Settlement, had settled in the Parish in 1872 and after that time his occupation had been farming and trading. He stated that he had a two-story frame house, 22 ft. by 30 ft. with a shingle roof. Attached to this was a kitchen, 16 ft. by 20 ft. He placed a value of $5,000.00 on it (Rodwell, 1965:27-28).

The issue of land titles was, however, important to those Metis who had adapted successfully. Without clear title their land could be taken from them. This had occurred in the Red River area following the Manitoba

Act, and the Metis feared it would happen to them again in the North West Territories.

## NON-METIS CONCERN

The Canadian government continued to ignore the Metis petitions, despite the warnings they received from other Canadian citizens who understood the needs and objectives of the Metis. On June 8, 1878, Alexander Morris wrote to Sir Hector Langevin and stated that, "it is a crying shame that the Half-Breeds have been ignored. It will result in trouble and is most unjust" (Stanley, 1963: 264). Six years later, on June 13, 1884, Bishop Grandin of St. Albert, in a letter to Sir Hector Langevin, remarked that:

> the members of the government ought not to ignore the Metis. They, as well as the Indians, have their national pride. They like to have attention paid to them and could not be more irritated by the contempt of which they feel themselves, rightly or wrongly, the victims (Stanley, 1963:264).

Sir Hector Langevin was a powerful Conservative Member of Parliament from Quebec, who for many years had supported the Metis cause in the North West Territories. Although his support was based on religious grounds, rather than on economic and political concerns, Langevin did attempt to get Prime Minister MacDonald to resolve the problems in the North West Territories. On November 6, 1884, Langevin wrote to MacDonald expressing his concern:

> Riel is still at Prince Albert and is a permanent danger. However, we must take care not to make a martyr of him, and thus increase his popularity. Some concessions to, and good treatment of, the Half-Breeds will go a long way to settle matters...(Stanley, 1963:286).

Prime Minister MacDonald ignored the warnings from Lieutenant Governor Morris, Bishop Grandin and Sir Hector Langevin, thus further contributing to the discontent among the Metis.

## LOUIS RIEL

### The Leader

Up to this time the protests and demands of the Metis had come from a variety of settlements and, although they were consistent in their similarity, the one element missing in the campaign to convince the Federal government was a leader who could speak for them all. Louis Riel, the Metis' hero of 1870, was asked and did return from exile in the United States on July 2, 1884. With his arrival, St. Laurent became the central area of Metis agitation.

Riel proved to be the cohesive force, the solidarity symbol, behind which not only the Metis, but the English speaking Half-Breeds and the Settlers Union of Prince Albert, would group for a short time to give additional credence to their demands.

Under the leadership of Riel the complaints and demands became more explicit. They reflected a desire for a certain degree of political and economic autonomy within the confines of Confederation. The following quotation is explicit in pointing out the Metis' social, economic and political concerns in 1885:

> The demands of the Half-Breeds were not confined to patents. They complained that they were charged dues on timber, rails, and firewood required for home use; that settlers were not allowed to perform their breakings and cropping on pre-emptions in lieu of their homesteads; that the North-West suffered in the matter of contracts for public works and supplies; that direct communication with Europe via Hudson Bay was denied the West; that settlers were exposed to coercion at elections, that the North-West was treated as a mere appendage to Canada; that the Territories were under a government that had been temporary for fifteen years and were refused the administration of their resources, etc.
>
> Their Bill of Rights asked for the partition of the territories into provinces, the sale of one half million acres of Dominion lands for building schools, hospitals, etc., for the half-breeds, and for the purchase of seed grain, and agricultural implements; the reservation of a hundred townships of swamp-lands to be distributed during the next hundred and twenty years to their children; money grants for religious institutions; better terms for Indians;--all beside the extension to all half-breeds of land grants of two hundred and

> forty acres. (Doughty ~~and~~ Shortt, 1914: fn. 1, 210)

## Open Conflict

This form of agitation continued until March 26, 1885, when Gabriel Dumont, the Metis military leader engaged in battle with the RNWMP, under Superintendent Crozier, near Duck Lake.[1] The Federal government immediately sent a 5,000 man army to put down the Rebellion of 1885. By May 12, 1885, the Rebellion was over, with a total of 16 Metis killed as compared to 36 Canadians (Begg, 1895:V. III, 224). Of the total number of Metis who took part in the Rebellion it was found that "more than 92%...were...Manitoba Metis" (Martin, 1938:238); many of whom had taken part in the Red River Resistance of 1869-70.

## CONCLUSION

By 1885, Metis frustration with the Federal government had turned to open hostility. Viewed within the broad context of the dynamics of culture change, the historical events and processes reveal that this was a period of rapid social and economic change within the geopolitical region of what is now Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147-177 , for a more extensive description of the 1885 Rebellion

The interface of Metis and Canadian cultures was not characterized by a state of interdependence, as was evident in the relationships between the Metis and the Hudson's Bay Company. Rather it had become a situation in which the dominant culture actively promoted changes for its exclusive benefit. The effect of these policies placed the Metis in the position of being forced to change their life style. With the arrival of the Industrial Revolution in the west, the Metis no longer were in a position to be able to accept or reject the changes occuring about them.

The Metis' responses during this period could be typified as rejection, innovation and modification. For example, the migration from Red River after 1870 could be seen as a rejection of central Canadian values and methods; the Provisional Government[1] established by Gabriel Dumont, in 1875, was an innovation or modification of the Provisional Government structure at Red River (1869) to meet the specific needs created by the rapid decrease in the buffalo population; and, the Metis' willingness to negotiate, through petitioning, is an example of their desire to reduce the stress inherent in rapid change. These responses indicated that the Metis accepted the remaining alternatives and, in most instances, they adapted them in a manner which created the least amount of stress or disharmony, and above all, preserved their autonomy as a distinct culture.

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147-177.

By the early 1880's the Metis had no choice. Their attempts to retain a modicum of autonomy and selected aspects of their French Metis heritage were evident in the petitions and in the 'Bill of Rights'. They viewed their requests for assistance in undergoing the change as reasonable. To a certain extent the Metis were willing to assimilate most of the new social and economic principles and practices. However, the Federal government's refusal to negotiate the Metis' requests created a high level of resentment and resulted in their decision to take up arms and fight for what they considered to be their inalienable rights as an indigenous people.

The precedence of the successful Resistance Movement in Manitoba and the presence of Louis Riel combined to create an atmosphere of reasonable expectation. The Metis had been successful in 1869-1870, therefore it was reasonable for the Metis to assume that by following the same course of action their demands would once more be recognized and accepted.

As it became evident that the Federal government was not going to respond to the secular, socio-economic demands of the Metis, the movement took on a religious character. As tension grew, Riel confronted the clergy more frequently, accusing them of conspiring with the Canadian government to defeat the Metis. To his followers he revealed the context of his visions, converting them to the belief that they were the 'chosen people' among the oppressed of the world. Thus began a religious movement, by an oppressed people, to revitalize and reform their social, economic and political environment.

# CHAPTER FOUR

> The birth of the cults of liberation deriving from a colonial status provide one of the most startling demonstrations of the close tie between religious life and secular, political, and cultural life. The birth of these movements can only be understood in the light of historical conditions relating to the colonial experiences and to the striving of subject peoples to become emancipated (Lanternari, 1963:vi).

## INTRODUCTION

This final chapter relates the Metis' historical condition of colonial dependency and frustration to their cultural annihilation in the armed rebellion of 1885.[1] There is no single solution or cause which will expalin or justify the events of the spring of 1885 in the North West Territories. Suggestions that Louis Riel was the cause, or that the Metis were by nature a hostile people are too simplistic to be of any explanatory value.

As was stated in chapter one, the Metis had always been a subordinate people within the asymmetrical relationships of colonization. During the period of the Hudson's Bay Company's dominance, the Metis' ability to adapt to externally stimulated changes had promoted their cultural stability. With the advent of Canadian governmental control, however, the traditional adaptive strategies no longer worked. The Rebellion of 1885 was a revitalization movement caused by the Metis frustrations in achieving cultural stability.

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[1] See Appendix C, pp. 147-177.

Revitalization movements, like colonial relationships, are characterized by an asymmetrical set of relationships. The relationship of dominant to subordinate still exists and, in the case of the Metis, it evolved from their relationship with the government of Canada. The Metis had no representation in the House of Commons. They had no legal authority to compel the Federal government to meet their demands and they were living at an economic and subsistence level, which could no longer support them. Consequently, when the Rebellion started the Metis were poorly armed, short of supplies and badly outnumbered.

## HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

The reasons for the Rebellion of 1885 had their genesis in the social, political and economic relationships of the fur trade. The economic objectives of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion of Canada had determined the economic and subsistence activities of the Metis. This domination by an external power placed the Metis in a subordinate position within a colonial framework of political control, economic dependency, and an inadequate development of social services, racism and commensality

(Balandier, 1966:37; Kennedy, 1945:308-311).

## Phases of Development

The Metis experience of 1885 was preceded by four phases of development:

Phase One (1821-1869)--A period of peaceful coexistence and multiple adaptations, within the asymmetrical relationships of the fur trade's economic structure, which was characterized by a dual economy. Kennedy (1945:316) explains

> ...every colonial area has a dual economy: one part being the small-scale subsistence economy, usually agricultural, of the natives: and the other the large export production and trade of the ruling group. Virtually all the cash profits of colonies are derived from the latter sector of the economy, and natives have almost no share in it.

The Metis did not practice a 'small-scale, subsistence agriculture', as was pointed out in Chapter Two. However, the relationship of dominant to subordinate, as exemplified by Kennedy, is analogous to the relationships between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis. The importance of the Metis to the success of the fur trade economy became irrelevant when the Hudson's Bay Company chose to sell out to the government of Canada and 'free trade' replaced 'monopoly'. The Metis reaction to this decision was to assert a claim for the recognition and protection of their rights as original inhabitants of the region. The Resistance Movement, of 1869-1870, with its List of Rights of the Provisional Government of Red River (March 22, 1870)[1], did, theoretically, accomplish this task.

Phase Two (1870-1874)--A period of withdrawal from the Red River settlements to escape the agressive central Canadians, and to maintain a life-style centered around the nomadism of 'the Hunt' and the remnants of the fur trade economy.

This phase in Metis history was short and dramatic. The Metis' retreat from Manitoba to the plains and rivers of the North West Territories was a brief respite as the Federal government's expansionist policies were rapidly put into effect. The surveys, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, the government's immigration policies, the land grants to the Hudson's Bay Company, the Colonization Companies, the reservationization of the Indians as a result of the signing of the early prairie Treaties, and the decline of the buffalo herds rapidly combined to destroy the traditional life style of the Metis.

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[1] See Appendix B, pp. 143-146.

Phase Three[1] (1874-1884)--A decade of traditional secular petitioning, designed to secure their lands and aid them in their adaptation to a sedentary economy based on agriculture and animal husbandry. The Metis requests were part of a comprehensive approach to change their economic and subsistence activities. Related social activities connected with the core of Metis culture were being selectively requested as part of a conscious, planned effort to integrate the most desirable aspects of both cultures. For example, schools, hospitals and farm instructors were identified as being part of the social and economic necessities required if a successful adaptation was to take place.

When considering the complexity and significance of this planned culture change, it is important to remember that there was a small, but influential group of Metis who were well educated. They had been to eastern Canada and the more highly industrialized sectors of North America. Consequently, their plans were based on a knowledge that the west would inevitably change from an exploitative tradeoriented economy to an economy based on farming and the raising of cattle.[1]

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[1] Phase Two and Three overlap to a great extent. Although they are related and deal with the same historical information, it is necessary, for the purposes of this thesis, to separate them. The rationale for this artificial separation is that while some traditional activities were being rendered obsolete, especially subsistence activities, other traditional activities, responses to stress (in the form of planned adaptation, petitioning and confrontation) were taking on unprecedented importance.

Phase Four (1884-1885)[2]--A short, intense period of complete distrust and anger towards the dominant culture, represented by the government of Canada. By their arrogance and recalcitrance the Federal government had created a situation with all the ingredients for a violent confrontation.

Petitioning was a traditional secular means the Metis employed to relieve political stress. When this 'means-to-an-end' process failed, a new method for securing cultural stability was articulated by Louis Riel; he, with the assistance of the supernatural, would lead them to a life free of oppression. Riel was regarded by the Metis as a national hero, who had returned to alleviate their sufferings at the hands of the dominant society.

Riel's attitude towards the changes sought by the Metis was, in the beginning, completely traditional. Unity of purpose, petitioning and a statement of Metis 'rights' had been successful methods of confrontation before.[3]

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[1] The preliminary stages of this change were outlined in Phase Two.

[2] See Appendix C, pp.147-177, "History of the Halfbreed Claims and Petitions".

[3] See Appendix C, pp.174-175, "Bill of Rights of September, 1884".

Even the use of armed force was a traditional means to gaining recognition (1869-70). However, as it became obvious that the Federal government was not going to respond to the Metis positions, Riel became more aggressive.[1]

> On March 21 (1885) he (Riel) issued an ultimatum to Major Crozier, who commanded the Mounted Police at Carlton and Battleford, requiring him to surrender the police posts and to retire from the country, under threat of a 'war of extermination'. This ultimatum, which was never delivered but served as the basis of negotiations between representatives of the insurgents and the authorities, was signed 'Louis "David" Riel, Exovede' and issued in the name of 'the Provisional Government of the Saskatchewan,' whose council was called the 'Exovedate', for Riel insisted that his own and their authority was merely as 'members of the flock' (Wade, 1968:408).

Riel's anti-Catholic stance was caused by his belief that the clergy had allied itself with the dominant Canadian government. The result of this schism was the formulation of the ideological basis for more intense opposition to anything perceived as controlling the Metis' future aspirations. This development appeared as a phase in the concretization of the Code. The Bible and Christianity were still accepted, but the interpretation shifted radically in the wake of an anticolonial and xenophobic reaction to anything associated with central Canada.

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[1] Over the ten year period, prior to 1885, approximately 74 petitions were forwarded to either the Territorial or Federal Governments.

Riel's actions, at this point, fall within the structure of Wallace's (1961:150) 'adaptation' stage in the revitalization movement, particularly as it applies to

> the general tendency...of... codes to harden gradually, and for the tone of the movement to become increasingly nativistic and hostile both toward non-participating fellow-members of society, who will ultimately be defined as 'traitors', and toward 'national enemies'.

Examples of this hostility include Riel's denouncement of Father Andre (March 2, 1885) as a 'traitor' to the Metis people (Howard, 1952:320-321); the denouncement of Father Vital Fourmond (March 15) "for (refusing) the sacraments to those who would take up arms in defense of their most sacred rights!" (Ibid.:321); the arrest and conviction of Charles Nolin (March 19, 1885) "as a traitor because he refused to take up arms" (Ibid.:325); and Thomas McKay (March 22, 1885), "the would-be mediator...as a traitor to his own people" (Ibid.:326).

1. The Metis were not opposed to the Catholic religion. What they, and particularly Riel, were opposed to was the clergy's political position. To the Metis, the clergy represented another aspect of the injustices they had undergone at the hands of the central Canadians and the Federal government.

As Lanternari states:

> There is no passive acceptance in this phase but, rather, a continuing quest for new religious values to meet popular needs; and the native churches tend to remain strongly opposed to the missions. Nevertheless, the transcendental quality of the Judeo-Christian faith is present in them through belief in the afterlife and in the justice of God (1963:315).

## THE INFLUENCE OF RIEL

It would be fruitless to attempt to analyze and evaluate the personality of Louis Riel, or to synthesize the personality or 'national character' of the French Metis who followed him. It is the effect of Riel's personality that is of concern, because it was the symbol of those things that Riel stood for, and which drew the Metis together in an attempt to achieve security and stability. The Riel-led movement was generated by conflict with another culture: a situation the Metis would no longer tolerate. Lanternari suggests that an individual such as Louis Riel becomes the focal point of both the past and the aspired to future:

> Thus, as to the relationship between the individual initiative of the prophet and his social environment, it may well be stated that above all in the person of the prophet does the individual become the point at which the past and the future converge. He gives a creative impulse to a prospective "moment"

> of history, and into him, in turn, flows the tradition which is history's moment of retrospection (1963:305).

THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

Lanternari (1963:322) notes that religious movements

> ...serve to implement the popular awareness of the need for change in the religious life and, in so doing, pave the way for reform in cultural, political, and social structure for secular society.

This conception of the role of religion in a revolutionary movement is applicable to the St. Laurent Metis, under the leadership of Louis Riel, during the period from March to May, 1885. Given Lanternari's thesis that religious movements are but one aspect of a historical process, then this conception is applicable.

Lanternari sums up this historical phenomenon, stating that:

> Because these movements are popular and revolutionary... (and)...because they are spurred by the urgent and vital needs of oppressed people and societies caught in a dilemma, they look to the future and to the regeneration of the world (1963:322).

It was during this final phase that the prophet Riel's reformative code was of greatest importance. Disillusionment and the promise of a better future combined to unify the Metis in absolute opposition to the Canadian government.

## THE CODE

By March of 1885 Riel had clarified his religious and political prophesies and communicated them to the Exovedate. These revitalistic declaration by Riel amounted to a 'Code Formulation' (Wallace, 1961). Included within the code were aspects of nativism,[1] vitalism,[2] and synthesism.[3]

Riel spoke of a new west that would be free of central Canadian influence. The Metis were the 'chosen people' and they would open up the west as a haven for the oppressed.

> Riel talked of dividing the lands of the North-West into sevenths among the pioneer whites, the Indians, the French Metis, the Church, and Crown lands; on another occasion the Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Bavarians, Irish, and Belgians were each to have a seventh, after Riel had raised support for the Metis among these immigrant groups in the States (Wade, 1968:408).

Riel's sense of divine mission was not a hastily formulated idea. He had been convinced for some time that his mission in life was to be the Prophet and the Messiah of the Metis.

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[1] ..."stresses revived or perpetuated aspects of culture" (Smith, 1959:11).

[2] ..."stresses newly perceived aspects of culture" (Ibid.).

[3] ..."stresses new combinations" (Ibid.).

Riel described a vision he had on December 18, 1874, to Bishop Bourget in the following terms;

> The same spirit who showed himself to Moses in the midst of fire and cloud appeared to me in the same manner. I was stupefied; I was confused. He said to me, 'Rise up, Louis David Riel. You have a mission to fulfill.' Stretching out my arms and bending my head, I received this heavenly messenger (Howard, 1952:271).

When confronted by the clergy as to his right to assume this position, he substantiated his claim to power with the letters he had received from Bishop Bourget in 1875 and 1876. In a letter dated July, 1875, Bourget had encouraged Riel to pursue his mission in life:

> I have the intimate conviction that you will receive here below and sooner than you expect the recompense for those interior sacrifices, which are a thousand times more difficult than the sacrifices of material and visible things.
>
> But God, who has always directed and assisted you to the present hour, will not abandon you in the strength of your prayers, because He has given you a mission which you must accomplish in all points (Howard, 1952:277).

Bishop Bourget was also important in Riel's religious reformation. Bourget was to be the new Pope in the West and in the event of his death, Bishop Tache would succeed him.

Riel's position of leadership and influence among the Metis had its genesis 15 years before in resistance against the Canadian government. When Riel advocated the use of arms to bring about the desired political and economic transformation, they followed him.

Riel's actions as well as his words gave strong evidence to the Metis that he was in concert with God. He walked or rode in the line of fire at Duck Lake, armed only with a crucifix; during the Battle of Fish Creek he publicly prayed for victory. Gabriel Dumont, the great Metis hunter, military leader, and first President of the 1873 Provisional Government of St. Laurent, stated after his return from exile that he firmly believed Riel to be the Metis prophet and savior:

> I attribute our success to Riel's prayers; all during the engagement, he prayed with his arms crossed and he made the women and children pray, telling them that we could come to no great harm (Stanley, 1963:333).
>
> I (Dumont) still believe to this day that Riel had had a revelation (Stanley, 1949:264).

## CONCLUSION

Early Metis reaction to moments or periods of stress had been dealt with through confrontation, adaptation or innovation. Later adaptive measures included armed resistance, migration and petitioning: all meant to promote a milieu in which the Metis' desired life style would be insured. However, when these traditional means were unsuccessful, a completely different tactic for survival was adopted, with a non-traditional objective in mind---existence within an environment devoid of a dominant powers influence.

In March of 1884, Riel and his closest followers were aware that they could not defeat Canada in a war. They hoped, however, to coerce the government into meeting their demands by capturing Superintendent Crozier and his Mounted Police force, and securing an alliance with the Indians. The attempted capture of Crozier, at Duck Lake, turned into an armed battle, but the Indians never did arrive in time to support the Metis.

Stanley (1936:332) states that:

> The Metis were in no position to conduct a successful rebellion. At the most Riel could only call upon four or five hundred Metis ...Moreover, they were poorly armed...Supplies, too, were insufficient and ammunition was scarce.

The Canadian government reacted to the Metis Rebellion by sending 5,000 soldiers, to combat a maximum of 500 Metis. The Federal government used force to put down a rebellion by the Metis who had wanted nothing more than assistance in adapting to a sedentary, agricultural life style.

The Rebellion ended on May 12, 1885, and with their defeat of the Metis the government of Canada destroyed the Metis' hopes for economic stability.

The Metis' final attempt to secure stability and autonomy through a non-traditional method, met with an armed show of force by the Canadian government, and failed.

In the following years, the Canadian government rewarded the army, Mounted Police, and militia men for their participation in the Rebellion of 1885. These men were granted free parcels of land and loans, so that they could become farmers.[1] Denied the opportunity to become farmers, the Metis left their settlements. They travelled north and west, to the forests, lakes and river in an attempt to escape the hostility and oppression of southern Canada. It is estimated that there are in excess of 500,000 Metis in Canada today, and that the majority of them rank among the most poverty stricken people in this country. They live in both rural and urban settings, and extremely few of them have enjoyed economic success in Canadian society.

The contemporary Canadian Metis is still politically powerless and economically dependent upon the dominant Canadian society. They are the casualties of a colonization process which began over 200 years ago.

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[1] See Appendix E, pp. 180-209.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## A List of Partial and Complete Crop Failures in the Red River Settlement*

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* G.H.Sprenger, "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (1810 - 1870), in The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Special Issue: The Fur Trade in Canada, v. 111, no. 1, 1972. Edmonton. University of Alberta.

## TABLE 1

## A LIST OF PARTIAL AND COMPLETE CROP FAILURES IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

| Year of Failure | Frost | Locusts | Drought | Other or Unspecified | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1813 | | | X | X | W.L. Morton, 1949: 306 fn6 |
| 1817 | X | | | X | Selkirk Papers in A.S. Morton, 1938: 20 |
| 1818 | | X | | | Shanley, 1908:11 |
| 1819 | | X | | | Nute, 1942:246 |
| 1820 | | X | | | West, 1966:22-23<br>Rich, 1967:250 |
| 1821 | | X | | | Nute, 1942:326<br>West, 1966:62-70 |
| 1822 | | | | X | Rich, 1959: v.2, 507 |
| 1823 | | | | X | Rich, 1959: v.2, 507 |
| 1825 | | | | X | MacEwan, 1952:20<br>Giraud, 1945:837 |
| 1826 | X | | | | Giraud, 1945:640 fn6<br>Nute, 1942:445 |
| 1832 | | | | X | Hargrave, 1938:102 |
| 1836 | X | | | | Ross, 1957:187-188 |
| 1837 | X | | X | | Giraud, 1945:778<br>Glueck, 1965:20 |
| 1840 | | | X | | Bayley, 1969:72 |

X = Cause of crop failure

TABLE 1 (cont.)

| Year of Failure | Frost | Locusts | Drought | Other or Unspecified | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844 | | | | X | Giraud, 1945:836 |
| 1846 | | | | X | W.L. Morton, 1967: 513, note 73<br>Bayley, 1969:79 |
| 1847 | X | | | | W.L. Morton, 1956: xxviii<br>Giraud, 1945:836 |
| 1848 | | X | X | | Giraud, 1945:779<br>W.L. Morton, 1956: xxviii |
| 1850 | | | | X | Giraud, 1945:837 |
| 1855 | X | | | | Giraud, 1945:779 |
| 1856 | X | | | | Giraud, 1945:779 |
| 1857 | X | X | | | Giraud, 1945:777-9 |
| 1861 | | | | X | A.S. Morton, 1938: 37-38 |
| 1862 | | | | X | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1863 | | | X | | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1864 | | X | X | | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1865 | | X | | | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1866 | X | X | | X | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1867 | | X | | | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |
| 1868 | | X | | | A.S. Morton, 1938: 38 |

X = Cause of crop failure

# APPENDIX B

## List of Rights of the Provisional Government of Red River, March 22, 1870.*

* _in_ G.F.G.Stanley, 1936: 110 - 113.

"1. That the Territories, heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West, shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, except as a Province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.

"2. That we have two Representatives in the Senate, and four in the House of Commons of Canada, until such time as an increase of population entitle the Province to a greater representation.

"3. That the Province of Assiniboia shall not be held liable, at any time, for any portion of the public debt of the Dominion contracted before the date the said Province shall have first received from the Dominion the full amount for which the said Province is to be held liable.

"4. That the sum of eighty thousand dollars ($80,000) be paid annually by the Dominion Government to the Local Legislature of this Province.

"5. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this Province, up to the date of our entering into the Confederation, be respected, and that the arrangement and confirmation of all customs, usages, and privileges be left exclusively to the Local Legislature.

"6. That during the term of five years, the Province of Assiniboia shall not be subjected to any direct taxation except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislature for municipal or local purposes.

"7. That a sum of money equal to eighty cents per head of the population of this Province be paid annually by the Canadian Government to the Local Legislature of the said Province, until such time as the said population shall have increased to six hundred thousand (600,000).

"8. That the Local Legislature shall have the right to determine the qualifications of members to represent this Province in the Parliament of Canada, and the Local Legislature.

"9. That, in this Province, with the exception of uncivilized and unsettled Indians, every male native citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and every foreigner, being a British subject, who has attained the same age, and has resided three years in the Province, and is a householder; and every foreigner other than a British subject who has resided here during the same period, being a householder, and having taken the oath of allegiance, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members for the Local

Legislature and for the Canadian Parliament. It being understood that this Article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

"10. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to the transfer of the Government of this country to the Dominion of Canada be annulled, so far as it interferes with the rights of the people of Assiniboia, and so far as it would affect our future relations with Canada.

"11. That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province, and the right to amend all acts or arrangements made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert's Land and the North-West, now called the Province of Assiniboia.

"12. That the Government of Canada appoint a Commission of Engineers to explore the various districts of the Province of Assiniboia, and to lay before the Local Legislature a report of the mineral wealth of the Province within five years from the date of our entering into Confederation.

"13. That treaties be concluded between Canada and the different Indian tribes of the Province of Assiniboia, by and with the advice and co-operation of the Local Legislature of the Province.

"14. That an uninterrupted steam communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry be guaranteed to be completed within the space of five years.

"15. That all public buildings, bridges, roads, and other public works be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.

"16. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and in the Courts and that all public documents, as well as Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

"17. That whereas the French and English-speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided as to number, yet so united in their interests and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers, for reasons known to themselves, to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event.

" And whereas after all the troubles and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstandings among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, become as united and friendly as ever.

" Therefore as a means to strengthen this union and friendly feeling among all classes we deem it expedient and advisable -

" That the Lieutenant-Governor who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia should be familiar with both the French and English languages.

"18. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.

"19. That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in the consequence of the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury; and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable or responsible with regard to the movement of any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.

"20. That in view of the present exceptional position of Assiniboia, duties upon goods imported into the Province shall, except in the case of spiritous liquors, continue as at present for at least three years from the date of our entering the Confederation, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Winnipeg and St. Paul; and also steam communication between Winnipeg and Lake Superior."

# APPENDIX C

## History of the Halfbreed Claims and Petitions (as Prepared by Members of the Metis Association of Alberta, 1935)*

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* in Half-Breed Commission Papers, 1935: 381 - 398. Edmonton. Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

# HISTORY OF THE HALF BREEDS CLAIM AND PETITIONS
# AS PREPARED BY MEMBERS
# OF THE METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA 1935

The earliest phase of the Halfbreed claims and grievances are closely associated with the History of the Red River Colony. The Red River Project arose out of the efforts of Lord Selkirk who conceived and founded the colony as a buffer against the activities of the rival North West Fur Company. On gaining control of the Hudson's Bay Company's policy he secured from the Company, on May 11th, 1811, the transfer of 16,495 square miles of territory, including the south portion of the present province of Manitoba and a large portion of south-eastern Saskatchewan. The district acquired was called Assiniboia. In 1835 it became a circular district of 50 miles radius with Fort Garry as a centre.

Lord Selkirk secured the extinction of the Indian Claims over the lands of his settlement along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in return for the annual payment, to the natives, of 100 pounds of tobacco. This treaty was extinguished in 1871.

## THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MONOPOLY

Following the death of Lord Selkirk and Sir Alexander MacKenzie, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Fur Company amalgamated. This event though immensely beneficial in many respects had some disadvantages for the Red River Colony. The union rendered more economical the administration of the fur trade but as a result a considerable number of halfbreeds formerly employed by one or the other of the companies were left without any adequate means of support. For a long time many members of this class lived in great poverty.

The Deed of 1811, creating Assiniboia, stated that one-tenth (1/10) of the Selkirk Grant was to be used for retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. A provision was made for the granting of lands to retired servants for services rendered. The size of estates were dependent on rank. Masters of a trading post were to receive 1000 acres, even an ordinary labourer who had served the company only three years was entitled to 200 acres.

In 1834, the guardianship of the Red River Colony was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company be secret agreement by the executors of Lord Selkirk's estate. Though Selkirk had spent £200,000 upon the settlement, his executors accepted £84,111 for full quittance of their claims.

There was in many quarters a strong conviction that no bona fide surrender ever took place, as the terms of the agreement were distinctly to the disadvantage of the immigrants and halfbreeds. The re-conveyance of Assiniboia (1834) to the Hudson's Bay Company could not affect the previously established rights and interests of the retired servants as it could only involve nine-tenths (9/10) of the district originally surrendered to the Hudson's Bay Company.

During the next two decades, the chief topic of public interest in Rupert's Land was the persistent agitation for the abrogation of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopolies. The Company was the sole purchaser of the markets of the settlements and controlled all imports and exports. It alone could legally engage directly or indirectly in the fur trade. The Company enforced all their obnoxious charter rights to the last minute detail.

In 1844 Governor McTavish ordered that all persons importing goods from England leave their business letters open to his inspection.

The foremost opponent of the monopoly was James Sinclair, of a family long connected with the service of the Company. Engaging independently in the fur trade, he took his furs to London where the Company paid him handsomely, rather than have a competitor arise in the open market. The Company undertook a test case, in 1849, against William Sayer, a free trader of less prominent social position. James Sinclair acted as counsel for defence. Sayer did not deny the facts. The intervention of Louis Riel, Senior, with four hundred armed halfbreeds, all ardent free traders, secured the release of Sayer. This broke up the monopoly and henceforth the Company made practically no attempt to enforce their inclusive trade rights. However, Sinclair was a dangerous man to their opinion, with the financial support and connivance of the British Government, they contrived to employ him in the Oregon Territory. From this period the power of the Company waned. This resistance to the Company's monopoly was brought to the attention of the British Government by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. A.K. Isbister. It resulted in a select committee of the British House of Commons to determine the status of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to territory, trade, taxation, and government. Little resulted from the investigation but it gave some support to the resistance to the Company's monopoly.

The first attack on the Company's charter was an attempt, in 1749, to secure a cancellation of their extraordinary rights and privileges on the plea of "non-user". One of the terms of the charter was that of promoting colonization and settlement. At this time the Company had four or five forts on Hudson's Bay and employed only 120 men, though it had carried on a tremendous trade for eight years. The Company emerged successful in this suit.

Upon the fusion of the rival companies in 1821 the lease was renewed for 21 years, with the extension of the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Canadas into their territory with concurrent jurisdiction on the part of the Company. This was a condition which generally speaking, satisfied the whites.

An incident associated with this period was the

Red River Disturbance of 1837, when Dickson, a self-styled "liberator of the Indian Race", assembled his halfbreed followers and attmpted to raise a revolt in the colony.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1838, on the basis of the protection by the British Government, of the present and future colonies, within the Hudson's Bay territory, and their exemption from the Hudson's Bay Company's jurisdiction.

In 1857 a select committee of the British House of Commons proposed the ceding to Canada of certain districts in the Red River and Saskatchewan. The Privy Council believed that the Company should continue to enjoy the exclusive rights of trade, but recommended that a bill should be prepared forthwith to lay the foundation of a new order. Despite all the efforts made to effect an adjustment the vested interests and long admitted rights of the Great Company were too strong to be imperilled by any legal subtleties put forward on behalf of Canada.

The leases were removed in 1859, subject to these conditions - the exclusion of Vancouver Island and other prospective colonies from their jurisdiction; the boundary between the Hudson's Bay territory and Canada to be fully defined; suitable settlements to be free for annexation to Canada. After 1859 the monopoly of exclusive trade was not renewed but the Company continued to exercise rights of administration.

## THE FOUNDING OF GOVERNMENT

In consequence of the discontent aroused by the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, a petition had been forwarded from Assiniboia to the American Governments, in 1846, desiring annexation of the Red River territory to the United States and promising assistance against the Hudson's Bay Company in the event of war.

In 1856 a proclamation issued under instructions of the President of the United States, prohibited trespassing into American territory, caused much discontent, as it precluded the people of Red River from their hunting grounds.

The rise of the Fenian Movement and incursions of the war-like Sioux on the American Frontier caused much anxiety during this period, and resulted in the arrival of a Military Force of 120 men at Fort Garry in 1864. A memorial from the Red River Settlement, under date of January 17th, 1862, favouring confederation, was forwarded to the officers administering the Canadian Affairs. At the first session of the first Parliament of Canada, the Hon. William McDougall brought forward a series of resolutions for the union of Rupert's Land and the Territories with Canada. Sir George Cartier and Mr. McDougall, in 1868, went to England as Canadian delegates to confer with the Hudson's Bay Company. Terms were arranged and an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament authorizing the change of control. The Canadian Parliament accepted the arrangements in June 1869 and on November 19th the Hudson's Bay Company made the surrender. The Company's Rights were extinguished by the payment of £300,000 sterling--The right to claim, within any township in the fertile belt one-twentieth of the land set out for settlement; The right to carry on trade in its corporate capacity; That no exception tax be placed on the Company's land, trade of servants. While the terms of the surrender were being considered the London Directors of the Company informed the employees that "should the Company surrender their chartered rights they would expect compensation for the officers and servants as well as for the proprietor." The spirit and letter of these promises were promptly forgotten when the surrender was made.

The retired servants and the employees of the Company, with their families, included very many whites, large numbers of English half-breeds and the greater majority of the French half-breeds in the West. These people believed that one-tenth of the territory ceded to "Selkirk on the Red River rightfully belonged to themselves and their heirs and that these lands were incapable of being surrendered by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company deliberately concealed these facts when negotiating with the Canadian and British Governments. The people of Eastern Canada have never been able to understand the bitter sense of wrong cherished especially by the

Halfbreeds of the West. Those who realized the Metis grievances cooperated in a conspiracy of silence. This was the primary cause of the troubles of '70 and '85.

## THE REBELLION OF 1870

It is necessary to review the troubles in Red River, in 1870. History records it as a rebellion despite the fact that Riel persistently proclaimed his loyalty to the British Crown. It is hard to see how resistance to the government of a sister colony can be considered a rebellion. In a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, December 1869, the premier of Canada declared that the resistance of the Halfbreeds "is evidently not against the sovereignty to Her Majesty or the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company, but to the assumption of the Government by Canada". The Provisional Government of 1870 was a means of protest against the folly and bungling of the Imperial and Dominion authorities.

In annexing Rupert's Land the British and Canadian authorities ignored the 10,000 white and Halfbreed settlers of the Red River. The terms of the transfer were never discussed with them or their representatives. Various opinions existed. The more recent arrivals from Eastern Canada were anxious for annexation, some were indifferent and a great number were bitterly opposed to it. The lesser officials and traders of the Hudson's Bay Company believed that their interests were ignored in the transfer and the Halfbreeds by virtue of their Indian Blood, felt themselves to be with the Indians the natural possessors of the land, resented the surrender by which they believed that their birth right would be forfeited and their natural heritage pass into the hands of strangers. The servants and retired employees of the Hudson's Bay Company believed that the lands assigned to them and their heirs under the terms of the Selkirk grant were included in the lands surrendered to Canada, and the action of the Company at law was invalid.

These misapprehensions might have been corrected if the Government of Canada had not sent surveyors into the country before the actual terms of the surrender were concluded. They preceeded to lay out the land upon the rectangular plan of survey, entirely ignoring the primitive system in use. The Common form in usage at this period was river lots of narrow frontage and of a few (2 miles) miles in depth as adopted in the older settlements of Quebec. These could not be made to fit in with the new survey and the settlers naturally believed that they were being robbed of their holdings. The misrepresentation and arrogance of many of these surveyors further aggravated the situation.

The Dominion Government then appointed Hon. Wm. McDougall as Lieutenent Governor, who departed for Red River immediately. The excited Halfbreeds determined that the entry should not occur until negotiations between the

Red River settlers and the Federal Government resulted in a constitution satisfactory to them. An armed force seized the highway between Fort Garry and the boundary to prevent McDougall's entry, while Louis Riel took possession of Fort Garry. Riel called a convention to form a Provisional Government. At the insistence of the English Delegates Riel consulted Governor McTavish of the Hudson's Bay Company who consented to the formation of a Provisional Government. Then the President of the Provisional Government, John Bruce, and Riel distributed among the settlers a "Declaration to the people of Rupert's Land and the North West". In the document Riel declared on behalf of the settlements "that we refuse to recognize the authority of Canada which pretends to have the right to coerce us and impose upon us a despotic form of Government still more contrary to our rights and interests as British Subjects as was the Government to which we had subjected ourselves through necessity up to a certain date--we shall continue to oppose with all strength the establishment of a Canadian authority in our country under the announced form. Meanwhile we hold ourselves in readiness to enter into much negotiations with the Canadian Government as may be favourable for the good Government and prosperity of this people."

The English-speaking settlers generally held aloof from the disturbance and expressed sentiments of regret that a portion of the French Halfbreeds should prejudice the good name of the colony. However, they declined to enter upon the responsibility of aiding the Canadian Government to establish their authority.

Governor McDougall adopted the unwise course of proclaiming his authority and appointed Col. Dennis to rally all loyal subjects for the overthrow of the insurgents. Dennis' volunteers succeded in getting themselves into trouble and strengthened the hand of Riel. Dennis fled from Red River and a number of his volunteers became prisoners at Fort Garry. The Provisional was definitely organized in January 1870, with Riel as President; O'Donoghue, a Fenian, as Secretary-Treasurer; and Ambroise Lepine an Adjutant General of the Military Forces. It may be said that at this time sums of money amounted to more then four million dollars, men and arms were offered by Americans on condition that Tiel espouse annexation. These offers he refused.

On the 19th of January 1870, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona) arrived as a special emissary. With great common sense and diplomacy he presented his papers at a large mass meeting of the people. The Governor General's Proclamation was read guaranteeing non-prosecution for all parties who submitted to peaceable dispersion and obedience.

A convention of twenty English and twenty French representatives was held to consider Smith's mission. The chairman was Judge Black, a loyalist. A Bill of Rights was framed as a basis for legislation creating a Provincial Government of protecting the landed interests of the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the invitation of Mr. Smith three delegates, Father Ritchot, Alfred Scott, and Judge Black were selected to negotiate at Ottawa for the settlers. On their arrival at Ottawa, Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott were twice arrested as rebels, but there being no case against them they were released in April.

A number of loyalists of Portage la Prairie, under Capt. Boulton took up arms against the Provisional Government, February 14th. Boulton and a large number of his party were captured. On the 17th of February, Boulton was condemned to be shot and on the personal intersession of Mr. Smith, Riel consented to spare his life. In granting Mr. Smith's request he said, "May I ask you a favour?" Smith replied, "Anything that in honour I can do." Riel replied, "Canada has disunited us; will you use your influence to unite us? You can do so, and without this it must be war - bloody civil war. We want only our just rights as British Subjects."

Riel's difficulties were further aggravated by the execution of Thomas Scott, an irresponsible and hotheaded loyalist and Orangeman, who had previously attempted to murder his employer on the Dawson Road. Captured at the time of Boulton's sortie he had been released on his personal parole within the garrison confines of Fort Garry.

He immediately utilized his parole to promote insubordination among the prisoners, a state of affairs which threatened to tax the feeble powers of the garrison. He further preyed upon the excitable passions and fears of his simple and untutered guards by personal threats and promises of reprisels on the arrival of the expected military intervention. It was only in the face of threats and the clamour of the garrison and to sustain the visible power of the only existent force of law and order that Riel concented to the execution. Many reports gained unlimited publicity of the manner in which the execution was carried out. One report given wide credence was that of an ecclesiastic administering sacred rites to a superstitious and cringing execution squad. Scott met his death bravely.

Following the execution of Scott, the Canadian Government made arrangements to send a military force to Red River. The Colonial Secretary, Earl Granville, in a communication to the Federal Government, sent the following warning, "Troops should not be employed in enforcing the sovereignity of Canada on the population should they refuse to admit it." The admission is plainly evident that the Halfbreeds had every right to refuse to enter Confederation.

On May 2nd, 1870, Sir John A. McDonald introduced the Manitoba Act. The measure conformed generally to the Riel Bill of Rights with the exception that no provisions were made to protect that claim of those believing themselves entitled to a share in the tenth of the Selkirk lands which had been intended for the ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Provision was made for the extinction of special Halfbreed and Indian rights to the soil and for the establishment of provincial Autonomy. The Bill became law May 12th, 1872.

The arrival of Welseley with a "punitive" exipedition resulted in the collapse of the Provisional Government. An important factor was the influence exercised by Archbishop Tache. Archbishop Tache, who was on a visit to Rome returned immediately to Red River on the request of Sir John A. Macdonald's exhortations, remonstrances and personal prestige succeeded in restraining the more inflamable elements. The situation was further complicated by the issuance of an amnesty by Archbishop Tache which he believed he was empowered by Ottawa to proclaim. A further complication arose when Lieut. Governor Archibald officially accepted the armed support of Riel and his Halfbreed followers to repel expected Fenian invaders. Mr. Archibald reported to Ottawa that the French Halfbreeds loyally rallied to the support of the Government despite the troubles of 1860 and 1870, and that in the ranks of the Fenians were to be found only one French Halfbreed. As for Riel and his associates, the Government had officially and publicly recognized their assistance, they felt that any enforcement of capital sentences would be grossly unjust. The upshot was that the Federal authorities paid Riel and Lepine to leave the country under (Federal Authority) connivance. Lepine later returned, stood his trial, and was condemned to death but Lord Dufferin commuted his sentence to two years imprisonment.

We have tried to picture some of the true character of the rebellion of 1870 and review the acts of the French Halfbreeds who took up arms only against the ignorant arrogence of Ottawa and to whose loyalty to the British Crown Canada owes her Western Empire.

## THE HALFBREEDS OF THE PLAINS

When the North West was annexed to Canada, Halfbreed settlements were gradually being established in the Territory west of Manitoba. The Halfbreeds in the country lived by hunting and the fur trade. Agricultural settlements had scarcely begun. The institutions of law and order as known in civilized communities were little known. Free trade in furs which meant free trade in whisky had demoralized the Indians.

The so-called rebellion and the establishment of Canadian authority had disturbed the tradition of relative peace that had existed between the whites on one hand and the aboriginal peoples on the other.

The Metis viewed with great anxiety the gradual inroads of white settlers. The pernicious practices of white settlers, hunters and trappers caused the decrease and destruction of game. Worst of all the extinction of the buffalo was already in sight.

The Halfbreed element was chiefly of French and Scottish extraction and largely made up of former Hudson's Bay Company employees, and their descendents. They had scattered settlements principally at Prince Albert, Batoche, Battleford, Willow Bunch, Wood Mountain, Qu'Appelle, Battle River and St. Albert. As a general rule they devoted little attention to agriculture. The summers were spent on the plains buffalo hunting, and in the winter they traded and freighted for the Hudson's Bay Company.

An incident associated with this period and generally forgotten today was the Halfbreed Confederacy. The Government at Fort Garry due to its remoteness exercised but little influence in the far settlements of the West. As a consequence the Halfbreeds of Batoche and Carlton districts formed a Provisional Government in 1875. The head of this Government was Gabriel Dumont, famous Metis plainsman and warrier, who had come to the Saskatchewan Valley in 1868. The Metis organized themselves on the basis of the Old Plains Laws of the Buffalo Hunt, which did not operate on a voluntary basis. Dumont and his associates arrested various hunters who declined to join the Confederacy, and forbade all others to approach his territory unless they joined the Metis Confederacy. These proceedings were declared illegal and the Government interfered. Dumont, to avoid arrest, released the prisoners and confiscated property, remitted the fines and made peace with the police.

## THE HALFBREED CLAIMS AND THE REBELLIONS

In the journals of the Northwest Council under date of the 2nd of August we find a lengthy resolution with regard to the issue of Halfbreed scrip in the territories, a matter that reappeared year after year. Apparently nothing less than a rebellion as occurred eight years before could convince the Federal Government that satisfaction among the Halfbreeds of the Northwest could not be expected unless in the matter of land grants they were allowed terms similar to those given their brethern in Manitoba, under the Manitoba Act of 1870. The Council advised that non-transferable location tickets should be issued to each head of a Halfbreed family and each Halfbreed child resident in the Territories at the time of the transfer to Canada. The locations should be valid on any un-occupied Dominion lands. The title to remain vested in the Crown for ten years and if within three years of entry no improvements had been made upon the land the claim would be forfeited. The council further agreed that some initial equipment of agricultural and grain be granted. Had these wise proposals been accepted by the Federal Government much misery might have been avoided.

Governor Dewdney's Council which met at Regina, August 20th, 1883, firmly championed the rights of the Halfbreeds in a memorial presented to Ottawa at this time containing sixteen important grievances of the Northwest.

During 1884, a Mr. W. Pearce visited Prince Albert, Battleford and other points on behalf of the Government to investigate claims advanced by the old settlers (squatters) of long standing. A number of these claims were adjusted but Mr. Pearce could not speak French. No inquiry was made into the special grievances of the French Halfbreeds. Mr. A.M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, also made an official tour at this time. He met with an accident and was obliged to cut his visit short. These untoward incidents involved the Government in a state of ineptitude which factor contributed in no small measure to the causes of the rising of 1885.

The rebellion of 1885 arose chiefly from the same causes which brought about the trouble of 1870; the ignoring of the Halfbreeds of the Territories to participate in Indian title, the unexplained survey policy of the Government, and the total neglect of the Metis protests of the time. Under the Manitoba Act of 1870 a large area was set aside for the Manitoba Halfbreeds and a scrip issue of 180 acres issued to every Halfbreed head of a family. This issue did not cover the Halfbreeds of Red River who were absent or resident in the Territories. However, their rights were as binding and valid as the rights of their brethern in Manitoba.

In May 1873 John Fisher and a number of Halfbreeds in the Territories petitioned the Lieut. Governor for land grants. In 1874 the anziety of the Halfbreeds of

Prince Albert and St. Laurent over the land question was brought to the attention of the North West Council by Joseph McKay of Prince Albert. The same year a petition signed by thirty-two Halfbreeds of Qu'Appelle was forwarded to Lieut. Governor Morris. In 1877 forty-three Halfbreeds of Blackfoot Crossing presented a petition to the Lieut. Governor imploring assistance with a view to maintaining themselves by agriculture. The gradual influx of white settlers and the depletion of the Metis hunting grounds made necessary the pressing of their claims. Formal agitation began to take shape.

In February 1st, 1878, the Halfbreeds of St. Laurent held a public meeting. Gabriel Dumont was President, and Alexander Fisher, Secretary. The memorial of this occasion was as follows:-

> "That the sudden transition from prairie to agricultural life necessitated by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, and the ordinance respecting hunting of the Northwest Council, have brought your petitioners to their last resources and forced them to apply to the Federal Government for assistance in agricultural implements and seed grain, like assistance having been granted to certain foreign immigrants in the Province of Manitoba, Those instruments besides being extremely scarce, are only sold here at prices so exhorbitant that it is impossible for your petitioners to secure them; if, therefore, the Government were unable to grant this help many of your petitioners, however,

> willing they might be to devote themselves to farming, would be compelled to betake themselves, to the prairie at the risk of infringing the ordinance providing for the protection of the buffalo, however good it may be, since the time during which hunting is permitted is too short and the buffalo too scarce to enable them to lay in a sufficient supply and provide for there own needs and those of their families during the rest of the year."

They further petitioned:

> "That there should be granted to all halfbreeds who have not participated in the distribution of scrip and lands in the Province of Manitoba, like scrip and lands as in that province."

In January 1878 a petition was forwarded to Ottawa by the French Canadians and Halfbreeds of St. Albert to the same effect. The reply to the above petitions was a curt refusal as regards agricultural aid but promised a fair survey and allotment of lands would be made at some future time.

This was followed in June by a petition from Prince Albert signed by 181 persons asking that a census be made with a view of ascertaining the number of people entitled to share in scrip. A like petition bearing 289 signatures was presented from the Halfbreeds of the Cypress Hills the same year. A resolution was passed by the North West Council urging the Federal Government to take action. A deputation of Halfbreeds waited on the Lieutenant Governor at Duck Lake where they were told that the government refused to consider their requests. Though in the Deputy Minister's report of December of this year, 1878, are found proposals and recommendations, that the government comply to the Metis requests. The Deputy Minister also suggested a scheme of industrial schools. As a result of this report Mr. Nicholas Flood Davin was appointed Commissioner and the Departmental report and memorandum was forwarded for consideration to Archbishop Tache, Bishop McLean and Governor Laird. On January 29th Archbishop Tache replied in a very long letter interpreted as follows:

"The Halfbreeds are a highly sensitive race; they keenly resent injury or insult, and daily complain on that point. In fact, they are daily humiliated with regard to their origin by the way they are spoken of, not only in newspapers, but also in official and semi-official documents." (see footnote)

"It is desirable that the Halfbreed question be decided upon without further delay. The requisite legislation ought to be passed in the coming session of the legislature."

"There is no doubt that the difficulties increase

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N.B. Please note reference in Edmonton bulletin of January 13, 1934 re (Metis Breeds) The term being sufficient in itself and well designated these people. The term Breed displays gross ignorance of the traditions and history of the West.

with delay."

The replies of Bishop McLean and Mr. Laird were much to the same effect.

In the Saskatchewan Herald of March 24th, 1879, we find reference to a rumor that Louis Riel and a large number of French Halfbreeds from the Red and Pembina Rivers were to come in the summer of 1879 to make settlements on the Saskatchewan.

In May 1879 a resolution was passed empowering the Department of the Interior "To satisfy any claims existing in connection with the extinguishment of the Indian titles preferred by the Halfbreeds resident in the North West Territories outside the limits of Manitoba, on the 13th day of July, 1870, by granting land to such persons to such extent, and on such terms and considerations as may be deemed expedient."

Then follows a long list of representations, letters, recommendations and petitions.

In December 1879, Representations by Judge Richardson at Ottawa on behalf of the Metis of the west.

February 23rd, 1880, Meeting at Duck Lake widely attended.

Spring of 1880, Petition from the Halfbreeds of Manitoba Village.

May 19th, 1880, Petition signed by 102 names from the Halfbreeds of Edmonton and Prince Albert.

Summer of 1881, Petition of 112 signatures from the Halfbreeds of Qu'Appelle.

June, 1880, Memorial presented to the Northwest Council on behalf of the Metis by Mr. Lawrence Clarke, Member for Lorne.

Despite all the efforts of people conversant with the situation and its implications the Federal authorities could not be stirred to consider the Metis grievances. The Metis at this time found staunch champions in the persons of John McKay, Prince Albert; Bishop Grandin; Inspector Walker, N.W.M.P.; Frank Oliver and others.

An incident illustrating the criminal carelessness of Ottawa. On March 11th, 1882, Mr. Geo. Dick, Dominion Lands Agent at Prince Albert, wrote about the possibility of re-surveying the land in the St. Laurent district in accordance with the way it had been settled. The letter remained unanswered for over six months. On September 21st the Department replied in the negative.

September 2nd, Petition from the French Halfbreeds of the Saskatchewan Valley as follows and reproduced in full, on page 9: ----

St. Antoine de Padou, South
Saskatchewan, Sept. 4th, 1882.

"To the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald,
Minister of the Interior,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir:

"We the undersigned French Halfbreeds, for the most part settled on the west bank of the Saskatchewan in the district of Prince Albert, North West Territories, hereby approach you, in order to set forth with confidence the painful position in which we are placed, with reference

> to the lands occupied by us in this portion of the Territory, and in order to call the attention of the Government to the question which causes us so much anxiety.
>
> "Compelled, most of us to abandon the prairie, which can no longer furnish us the means of subsistence, we came in large numbers during the course of the summer, and settled on the south branch of the Saskatchewan. Pleased with the land and country, we set ourselves actively to work clearing the land in the hope of sowing next spring and also to prepare our houses for the winter now rapidly approaching. The surveyed lands being already occupied and sold, we were compelled to occupy lands being not yet surveyed, being ignorant, for the most part, also, of the regulations of the Government respecting Dominion Lands. Great was our astonishment and perplexity when we were notified that when the lands are surveyed we shall be obliged to pay $2.00 per acre to the Government if our lands included in the odd-numbered sections. We desire, moreover, to keep close together, in order more easily to secure a school and a church. We are poor people and cannot pay for our land without utter ruin and losing the fruits of our labour and seeing our lands pass into the hands of strangers, who will go to the land office at Prince Albert to pay the amount fixed by the Government. In our anxiety we appeal to your sense of justice as Minister of the Interior and head of the Government, and beg you to reassure us speedily, by directing that we shall not be disturbed on our lands, and that the Government grant us the privilege of considering us as occupants of even-numbered sections, since we have occupied these lands in good faith. Having so held this country as its masters, and so often defended it against the Indians at the price of our blood, we consider it not asking too much to request that the Government allow us to occupy our land in peace and that exception be made to its regulations by making the Halfbreeds of the North West free grants of land. We also pray that you would direct that the lots be surveyed along the river, ten chains in width by two miles in depth, this mode of division being the long established usage of the country. This would render it more easy for us to know the limits of our several lots."

On October 13th, 1882, the Government replied that all the lands of the North West Territories would be surveyed according to the system then in force. Notwithstanding that the lands of the English and Scottish Halfbreeds of the Prince Albert District were surveyed according to the river frontage system, the government insisted on and adopted the forty square chain method when dealing with the French Halfbreeds.

Further representations followed on January 16, 1883, from St. Laurent, January 19th from St. Louis de Langevin, and November 19, 1883, from St. Louis de Langevin. In the summer of 1883 Rev. Father Leduc went to Ottawa as a delegate for the people of St. Albert and Edmonton. The Government promised a survey of all the located lands on the Saskatchewan, which they promptly forgot to institute. Notwithstanding the protestions of the Metis, new arrivals and settlers commenced to take possession (legal) of the land ignoring the previous claims of the Metis. Many of the Metis lost all hope of retaining their lands, some went away, some sold their lands for a nominal price, others abandoned them without indemnity.

The Metis held a meeting in the summer of 1884, the following among other resolutions were passed:-

"That the French and English natives of the North West Territories knowing that Riel has made a bargain with the Government of Canada, in 1870, which said bargain is contained mostly in what is known as the Manitoba Act, and this meeting mostly in what is known as the Manitoba Act, and this meeting now knowing the contents of the said "Manitoba Act" we have thought it advisable that a delegation be sent to Louis Riel, and have his assistance to bring all matters referred to in the above resolutions in a proper shape and form before the Government of Canada, so that our just demands be granted."

A delegation consisting of Gabriel Dumont, James Isbister an educated Halfbreed, Moise Ouellette and Michel Dumas visited Riel who was teaching school at St. Peter's Mission near Fort Shaw, Montana. The fiery leader of the insurgents of 1870 had changed in the intervening years from an impulsive youth of twenty-five to a sombre and prematurely aged man of forty. His work was done. His compatriots in Manitoba had secured a settlement of their grievances. A province had been established and his Bill of Rights had been, in effect, adopted. He was an exile from Canada not even allowed to take his place in Parliament to which he had been elected. In the knowledge that he had made the contribution to the welfare of his people he was satisfied to accept his fate.

Then had come the Metis delegates from the Saskatchewan Valley. They wanted him to return. Their land was being taken away from them. Food was scarce. The buffalo were disappearing. The Metis were feeling the pinch. The whites and the Indians alike were sending appeals eastward for help from the Government. But these things were as nothing compared to the fundamental cause of unrest amongst the Indians and Metis. Back of it all was the protest of the nomad and hunting people against the encroachments of civilization. Riel decided to return to assist his People once more. To those who came for him he said - "Your lands belong to you. Once by virtue of the Indian title twice by your conquest and defence of them with your own blood, three times by having built, fenced, worked and inhabited them."

He arrived in Saskatchewan July 1st, 1884. He addressed many meetings during the summer and fall. No unconstitutional measures were advocated or expected. The cause he championed was approved by practically everyone in the country. In September 1884 the "Bill of Rights" was adopted and forwarded to the Government. The following seven provisions or demands were contained therein:-

(1) The subdivision into Provinces of the N.W. Territories.

(2) The Halfbreeds to receive the same grants and other advantages as the Manitoba Halfbreeds.

(3) Patents to be issued at once to the colonists in possession.

(4) The sale of half a million acres of Dominion Lands, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment, in the Halfbreed settlement of schools, hospitals, and such institutions, and to the equipment of the poorer Halfbreeds with seed grain and implements.

(5) The reservation of one hundred townships of swamp land for distribution among the children of the Halfbreeds during the 120 years.

(6) A grant of at least $1000 for the maintenance

of an institution to be conducted by the nuns in each Halfbreed settlement.

(7) Better provision for the support of the Indians.

These demands the Government treated with absolute silence. Very many warnings were offered to the Government by men who understood the situation. But in vain, the Government refused to believe that an armed uprising could occur. Nevertheless the possibility was freely discussed on all hands. Apparently, the Federal authorities had neither ears nor eyes, nor any knowledge of the long period of agitation, petition and remonstrance that had failed to procure any inquiry into the Western complaints and the removal of their causes. On the 6th June, 1885, the Secretary of State for Canada stated in a public letter:-

> "If the Halfbreeds had serious complaints against the Canadian Government the ordinary methods of petition were open to them as every free citizen. They have not evailed themselves of it."

In view of the facts this was a most damaging admission. It has never been denied that the Metis had good grounds for grievances. By the Manitoba Act the Government had recognized the right of the Halfbreeds to share in the Indian titles. It stood to reason that if they had rights in the soil of Manitoba they also had rights in the soil beyond. In spite of the manifest and unanswerable logic of the Halfbreed cause the government for years had refused to move in the matter. They believed that the Halfbreed settlements of the far west were without political influence and would be none the worse for the pigeon holing of their complaints and requests. The way in which the Government officials treated the just demands of the Metis was inexcusable and contributed to bring about the rebellion. Had they had votes like the white men or if, like the Indians they had been numerous enough to command respect and overawe red tape, without doubt the machinery of the government would have functioned for them; but being only Halfbreeds, they were put off with eternal promises, until patience ceased to be a virtue. It was the callous and cruel neglect of this portion of the population that led to armed insurrection. The above is a plain statement of the evidence and facts regarding an affair where judgement has often been blinded by political, racial, and religious prejudices. The reader must draw his own conclusions.

It is admitted today that the rising of 1885 was caused by political mismanagement and governmental procrastination. It cost Canada the death of many brave soldiers and the useless maiming of many others and the expenditure of $20,000 for every Indian and Halfbreed killed in action, to crush the rising caused by the maladministration of guilty officials who escaped unpunished. Whatever the cause of the Rebellion, it succeeded in focusing attention on the North West and brought about the settlement of the Prairie Provinces.

# APPENDIX D

## Halfbreed Commission Settlements - 1929. *

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* in Half-Breed Commission Papers, 1935: 19. Edmonton. Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

Statement Showing Total Amount Of Land And Money Scrip Issued And Amount Paid In Cash In Satisfaction Of Half-Breed Claims Arising Out Of The Extinguishment Of The Indian Title, Including Scrip Issued In Exchange For Scrip Certificates Granted By The Several Half-Breed Commissions; Also Acreage Of Land Allotted In The Province Of Manitoba To The Children Of Half-Breed Heads Of Families.

| PROVINCE OF MANITOBA: | Claims | Acres | Money Scrip |
|---|---|---|---|
| Land allotted to children of Half-Breed heads of families | 6,034 | 1,448,160 | |
| Scrip granted to Half-Breed heads of families | 3,186 | | $589,760 |
| Scrip granted to children of Half-Breed heads of families, supplementary claims. | 993 | | 238,300 |
| Total | 10,213 | 1,448,160 | $748,060 |
| NORTH WEST TERRITORIES: (comprising Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta) | | | |
| Land Scrip issued to North-West Half-Breeds | 4,840 | 1,161,612 | |
| Money Scrip issued to North-West Half-Breeds | 9,101 | | $2,095,817 |
| Total | | 2,609,772 | $2,843,877 |
| Paid in cash to the Half-Breeds of the MacKenzie River District, N.W.T. | 172 | | $41,280 |
| | 14,113 | | |
| Total | 24,326 | | |

'sgd' N.O. Cote

Department of the Interior,
Dominion Lands Board,
Ottawa, 3rd. December, 1929
(in Half-Breed Commission Papers, 1935:100, p.19 of the Metis Association of Alberta Submission to the Commission)

# APPENDIX E

Report of Mr. John Bain, of Ottawa, to the Government of Alberta Relating to the Alienation by the Dominion Government of Lands and Natural Resources situated within the Province, 1919. *

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* Edmonton. Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

## GRANTS OF LAND AND OF SCRIP TO HALF-BREEDS

The Manitoba Act, 1870, Sec. 31, provided that it was expedient towards the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands in the Province to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of 1,400,000 acres for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, - such lands to be divided among the children of the half-breed heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the transfer of such lands to Canada.

And, in 1874, vide Act 37 Vic. Chap. 20, a grant of 160 acres of land or $160. in scrip. redeemable in payment for purchase of Dominion Lands, was made to each half-breed head of a family, resident in the Province on the 15th July, 1870. The term "half-breed head of a family" was defined to include half-breed mothers as well as half-breed fathers, or both, as the case might be. In the event of the death of any half-breed father or mother, or both, between the 15th July 1870, and the granting of the land or scrip, such land or scrip would be granted to members of the family.

By subsequent legislation, 42 Vic., Chap. 32, and by Order in Council of 10th December 1879, such land or scrip was ordered to be divided between the children of the deseased child,-the latter sharing only in their parents share.

On the 23rd March 1876 an Order in Council was passed, declaring in effect that, in view of the great dissatisfaction which had been caused in Manitoba by the locking up of large and valuable tracts of land for distribution among half-breeds - thus seriously retarding the settlement of the country, no further tracts of land would be set apart for half-breed heads of families, and that such half-breed heads of families would be entitled to scrip only.

The final allotment of the 1,400,000 acres to the children of half-breeds, on the basis of 240 acres to each child, was submitted by Order in Council dated 7th September 1876, and the Minister of the Interior reported to the Governor in Council, on the 12th April, 1880, that the whole of the said 1,400,000 acres has been distributed.

For various good reasons, certain of the allotments comprised in the aforesaid 1,400,00 acres granted to children of Half-breeds, were cancelled, and it was declared by Order in Council dated 9th January, 1891, that such cancelled lands would be dealt with the same as other ungranted Dominion lands.

Subsequent to the final disposition of the 1,400,000 acres of land I refer to, claims were submitted by Half-breeds who proved that they were entitled to be dealt with under the Manitoba Act, but such proof was not furnished until after the 1,400,000 acres has been appropriated and disposed of. As respects all such claimants, the Government, by Order in Council of 20th April, 1885, ordered the issue of $240.00 scrip to each claimant, - the total amount of scrip issued being $194,638.

According to information furnished to me by the Department of the Interior, the total acreage allotted to Manitoba Half-breeds, covering grants to children of Half-breed heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the transfer of such lands to Canada, and covering also the grants to such Half-breed heads of families, amounted to 1,448,160 acres, all of which was located within the Province.

The amount of scrip issued to Half-breed heads of families was $509,760., practically all of which has been applied.

Following the precedent established regarding Half-breeds in Manitoba similar action was taken in regard to the Half-breeds in the North West Territories.

The Dominion Lands Act of 1883 gave the Government in Council power to satisfy any claims existing in connection with the extinguishment of the Indian Title preferred by Half-breed residents in the North West Territories outside of the limits of Manitoba previous to 15th July, 1870 by grants of lands.

And by Order in Council of 30th March, 1885 provision was made as follows:

For granting to each Half-breed head of a family resident in the North West Territories outside of the limits of Manitoba previous to 15th July, 1870 the plot of land undisputedly occupied by him on 30th March, 1885, to the extent of 160 acres. An issue of scrip for $1 and acre was authorized to make up the difference; to those without land scrip of the value of $160 was authorized. Similar provision was made as respects each child of a Half-breed head of a family born before 15th July, 1870, except that the extent of land grant was increased to 240 acres and scrip accordingly.

It was further provided by Order in Council, ~~dated~~ 18th April, 1885, that:

(a) That the small water frontages of which Half-breeds were then in possession be sold to them at $1 per acre, not to exceed 40 acres, and in addition they had the right to select 160 acres in the vicinity of their holdings, the patent for which, however, would not issue until they had paid for their 40 acre holding.

(b) As respects children of Half-breeds they were given the alternative of selecting 240 acres of land instead of $240 scrip.

By an Order in Council of 6th May, 1899, it was recited that in connection with a proposed Treaty with the Indians of the Athabasca District it was desirable that the claims of Half-breeds residing in the Territory proposed to be surrendered be investigated and dealt with. The Order provided in regard to such Half-breeds:

(1) That every Half-breed occupier of land in the said Territory be confirmed in possession of 160 acres.

(2) That scrip redeemable in land to the extent of $240 or at the option of the grantee

> scrip entitling the grantee to 240 acres of land be granted to each Half-breed permanently residing in the said Territory at the time of making the Treaty with the Indians and not having previously received scrip in extinguishment of the claim.

To settle an old standing dispute and grievance the said Order in Council of 6th May, 1899, declared that Half-breeds in the North West Territories born between 15th July 1870 and the end of the year 1885 were entitled to scrip of $240 value redeemable in land or scrip entitling the grantee to 240 acres of land. This provision was later by Order in Council of 2nd March, 1900, extended to children of Half-breeds born in the Territories between 1870 and 1885 and later by Order in Council 19th June, 1900, was extended to Half-breed children born in Manitoba while their parents were there from the North West Territories on a visit and also th Half-breed children born in unceded Territory whose parents have received scrip or were permanent residents of the North West Territories.

Similar treatment was subsequently (in 1906) accorded to Half-breeds in the greater portion of that portion of Saskatchewan which lies north of the 54th Parallel of Latitude, and in a small adjoining area in the Province of Alberta.

The information I get from the Department of Interior is that up to April, 1917, the area taken up under scrip and grants to these Half-breeds was 115,000 acres and that there then remained to be taken up under such scrip

31,260 acres which may be located in either of the three Prairie Provinces.

## GRANTS TO ORIGINAL WHITE SETTLERS

The question of the expediency of recognizing the land claims of certain original white settlers in the Province of Manitoba was settled by the passing of two Acts of Parliament in 1874 and 1875. The first Act, 36 Vic., Chap. 37, appropriated 49,000 acres of land for the purpose of making free grants of 140 acres each to persons then resident in the Province, being original white settlers who came into the Red River country under the auspices of Lord Selkirk, between the years 1813 and 1835, both inclusive, or to the children (not being Half-breeds) of such original settlers.

The amending Act, 37 Vic., Chap. 20, substituted for the land grant, the granting of scrip for $160.00 to each person, such scrip to be receivable in payment for the purchase of Dominion Lands.

The said amending Act further provided that the grant of scrip would also apply to original white settlers in the country during the aforesaid years, but who did not come into the country under the auspices of Lord Selkirk.

The total amount of scrip so issued was $135,511., all of which has been applied.

The aforesaid provisions for grants to original white settlers or their children were by Order in Council dated 19th April, 1886, made applicable to original white settlers who went to any part of the North West Territories in which the Indian title has been extinguished between the years 1813 and 1835.

The records of the Department in regard to these grants in the North West Territories are not very clear, but it is stated that there were probably not more than twenty or thirty cases.

## MILITARY BOUNTY

By Order in Council of 25th April, 1871, it was declared that the Officers and Soldiers of the 1st. or Ontario, and the 2nd. or Quebec Battalion of Rifles then stationed in Manitoba, were entitled to a free grant of Dominion land, not exceeding a quarter-section, without actual residence.

Effect could not be given to the said Order in Council until the lands in Manitoba had been surveyed, and, in the meantime, many of the men had assigned their interests.

The Act 46 Vic., Chap. 17, Sec. 23, confirmed the grants, ordered the issue of warrants therefore, and stipulated that bona fide assignments would be acknowledged and honoured.

The total acreage taken up in Alberta under these grants and under grants (next herein referred to) to Militia engaged in suppressing the Half-breed outbreak in 1885 is stated to be 56,640 acres.

## LAND GRANTS TO MILITIA ENGAGED IN SUPPRESSING THE HALF BREED AND INDIAN OUTBREAK IN THE NORTH WEST

By virtue of an Order in Council dated 13th July, 1885, supplemented by an Act of Parliament 48-49 Vic. Chap. 73, provision was made for granting to each member of the enrolled Militia Forces actively engaged and bearing arms in the suppression of the Indian and Half-breed outbreak, and serving west of Port Arthur, since the 25th March, 1885, including officer, non-coms. and men, a free homestead of two adjoining quarter-sections, or a total of 320 acres, of any even-numbered section of unoccupied or unclaimed Dominion lands in Manitoba or the North West Territories open to homestead and pre-emption entry, on condition that the grantee or his substitute make his selection on or before August 1st, 1886, and that the grantee or the substitute shall protect the entry by commencing actually to reside upon and cultivate the lands, within six months from the 1st August, 1886, and "shall thereafter continue to reside upon and cultivate the said lands for the period for by the Homestead Regulations."

Instead of the aforesaid grant of land the person entitled thereto had the right to choose scrip for

$80.00 -- acceptable in payment for Dominion lands.

In the following year an Act was passed, 49. Vic. Chap. 29, enlarging the classes of persons entitled to the aforesaid privileges, by including:-

(1) Members of any irregular forces raised by authority, and actively engaged and bearing arms in the suppression of the said outbreak.

(2) Scouts so actively engaged under authority.

(3) Crews of boats engaged in action.

(4) Nurses, engaged in action.

(5) Officers or men who started for service west of Port Arthur, but were invalided home before their Corps reached Port Arthur.

The time for making selection of lands, or applying for scrip, was extended to 1900, by successive Acts of Parliament, namely:-

54-55 Vic., Chap. 13
55-56 Vic., Chap. 6
56 Vic., Chap. 3
57-58 Vic., Chap. 3
61 Vic., Chap. 13
63-64 Vic., Chap. 17

The toal acreage taken up in Alberta under these grants and under Military Bounty grants hereinbefore referred to is stated to be 56,640 acres.

## GRANTS TO NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE

The Act creating the North West Mounted Police Force 36 Vic. (1871), Chap. 35, provided that the Government might, out of the lands in Manitoba or the North West Territories, make a free grant of 160 acres to any constable or sub-constable of the Forces, after three years of continuous and satisfactory service.

In 1879, the Act 41 Vic., Chap. 36, amending and consolidating the law, continued the said grant, but confined it to members of the Force who entered it before the 1st. July, 1879,- and after five years satisfactory service.

There has been no further legislation on the subject.

Land to the amount of 3,200 acres was taken up in Alberta under these grants.

## SPECIAL GRANTS OF LANDS

I am advised by the Department of the Interior that, from time to time, speical grants of lands to settlers in the three Prairie Provinces, aggregating 107.311 acres, were made. Unfortunately, the records of the Department do not show sub-divisions of the acreage, by Provinces. These Special Grants were of three classes, viz:-

1. Grants to Companies or Societies instrumental in promoting immigration of settlers, which

grants amounted to 17,768 acres.

2. Grants to make up deficiency in land acreage of a settler's quarter-section; also grants by way of exchange or quarter-sections, and grants to settlers surrendering lands required for the purposes of a Reserve. The grants in this category amounted to 44,183 acres.

3. Grants to settlers who held lands previous to 1870, in the case of Manitoba, and previous to 1905 in the case of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Such grants amounted to 45,359 acres.

## HOMESTEADS

The Dominion Lands Act 1872, Section 33, provided for the granting of Homesteads of 160 acres, upon payment of an entry fee of $10.00, and upon performance of certain specified duties usually extending for three years.

This applied to agricultural lands, not to lands set apart as timber lands, or to lands on which coal or minerals were, at the time of entry, known to exist.

Thereafter, scarcely a year passed without some change being made by Statute, Order in Council, or Departmental ruling, in regard to the details and the conditions under which Homesteads were to be granted. I am unable to see that it would serve any useful purpose to enumerate these changes. Suffice it to say that, in the main, the law provided that any male person, or any person the head of a family, including a widow, of mature age (the minmum varied from 18 to 21 years), might procure a Homestead of 160 acres by paying an entry fee of $10.00, and doing specified work on the land. For a period of a few months in the early Eighties the acreage of a Homestead was reduced from 160 acres to 80 acres, but the experiment proved a failure and was quickly abandoned.

In 1876, an Act to amend the Dominion Lands Act, 39 Vic., Chap. 19, exempted from Homesteading, lands set apart as hay lands; lands available for stone or marble quarries, and lands having water power thereon, which might be useful for driving machinery.

By Order in Council of the 18th May, 1881, the even numbered sections within the Canadian Pacific Railway belt, and outside thereof, were reserved exclusively for Homestead and pre-emption.

Under Regulations by Order in Council of the 23rd December, 1881, effective 1st January, 1882, surveyed lands were classified as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Class A. | Lands within 24 miles of the main line, or any branch, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, on either side. |
| Class B. | Lands within 12 miles on either side of any projected railway approved by |

Order in Council.

Class C. Lands south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, not included in Classes "A" or "B".

Class D. Other lands.

The even-numbered sections in all these classes were declared to be held exclusively for homestead and pre-emptions, with the following exceptions:-

1.- Except in Class "D" where they might be affected by Colonization agreements.

2.- Except where it might be necessary out of them to provide wood lots for settlers.

3.- Except in cases where the Minister might deem it expedient to withdraw certain lands and sell them at auction, or otherwise deal with them.

New Regulations were adopted by Order in Council of the 17th September, 1889, which divided surveyed lands into two classes viz:-

Class A. Comprising all lands east of the second initial Meridan, and all lands within and south of the Canadian Pacific Railway belt west of the second Meridan.

Class B. All lands not included in Class "A".

The even-numbered sections at the disposal of the Crown in both Classes were held exclusively for homestead and pre-emption entry unless in speical cases ordered by the

Minister or by law.

The Act 1883, 46 Vic., Chap. 17, provided for homesteading settlers in groups or families in hamlets or villages, under suitable specified conditions as to settlement duties, and by Act 61 Vic., Chap. 31, this was enlarged to cover associations of settlers for Whom tracts of land might be reserved.

## PRE-EMPTION OF LANDS

Under the Dominion Lands Acts, 37 Vic., Chap. 19, person making entry for Homestead had the right to pre-empt an adjoining quarter-section and cultivate the same, but not to cut wood thereon for sale or barter, and upon obtaining patent to his Homestead he had the right to buy the pre-empted quarter-section at $1.00 per acre.

An Order In Council of May 18th., 1881, provided that Pre-emptions entered up to 31st December, 1881, on each side of the Canadian Pacific Railway, would be disposed of at $2.50 per acre, in instalments spread over nine years. And, as respects Pre-emption Entries made after the 31st. December, 1881, the price of $2.50 per acre would be maintained, but payment would require to be made in three years.

The aforesaid Order in Council privided that, as respects lands within 24 miles of any projected line of railway approved by the Minister of Railways, the pre-emptions would be sold at $2.50 per acre,- payment to be made in one sum at the end of three years.

The said Order in Council further provided that pre-emptions outside of the Canadian Pacific Railway belt would be sold at the uniform price of $2.00 per acre,- to be paid in one sum at the end of three years from the date of entry.

But the said Order in Council did not bar prior right of homesteaders to purchase pre-emptions at $1.00 per acre.

Under new regulations dated 23rd December, 1881, which cancelled Order in Council of the 18th May, 1881, the following lands were held exclusively for Homestead Pre-emption:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Class A. | Lands within twenty-four miles of the main Line or any branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, on either side thereof. |
| Class B. | Lands within twelve miles on either side of any projected line of railway, other then the Canadian Pacific Railway, approved by Order in Council. |
| Class C. | Lands south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway not included in Classes A or B. |
| Class D. | Lands other than those in Classes A, B and C. |

It was provided that the prices for pre-emption lands would be as follows:-

For lands in Classes A, B and C, $2.50 per acre.

For lands in Class D, $2.00 per acre.

Payment was required to be made in one sum at the end of three years from the date of pre-emption entry, or at such earlier time as the settler might, under the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, obtain a patent for the homestead to which such pre-emption lot belonged.

The Dominion Lands Act Consolidated 1883, 46 Vic., Chap. 17, Sec. 39., discontinued the privilege of pre-emption in connection with homestead entry after the 1st January, 1885.

Later by 47 Vic. (1884) Chap. 25, the date of discontinuance of the pre-emption was extended to 1st January, 1887, and still later, by 49 Vic. (1886), Chap. 27, the date of discontinuance was extended to 1st January 1890.

## ORDINARY PURCHASE AND SALE OF LANDS

The Dominion Lands Act of 1872, Sec. 29, provided that surveyed Dominion Lands were open for purchase at One Dollar per acre, no purchase by any one person to be greater than one section -- 640 acres. There was a proviso that the Secretary of State might offer lands by public sale at an upset price of One Dollar per acre and sell to the highest bidder. Payment for such lands could be made in cash, Military bounty warrants or scrip.

By the Act 42 Vic. (1878) Chap. 31, lands which included water powers or marble or stone quarries, were exempted from purchase.

The Dominion Lands Act as amended in 1880, Vic. 44 Chap. 16,- declared that such lands might be restricted to odd-numbered sections outside the Canadian Pacific Railway belt were held for sale as public lands.

It was further provided by the said Order in Council of May 18th., 1881, that such public lands would be sold at the uniform price of $2.00 per acre cash, excepting in special cases where the Minister of the Interior might deem it expedient to withdraw certain lands from ordinary sale and settlement and put them up for sale at public auction to the highest bidder, in which event such lands were required to be put up at the upset price of $2.00 per acre.

Under new regulations by Order in Council of the 23rd December 1881, only odd-numbered sections of land on either side of a projected Railway approved by Order in Council, or lands south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway beyond the 24 mile limit, were made available for ordinary sale,- the price to be $2.00 per acre, except when otherwise dealt with by the Governor in Council, and expecting also, where lands were affected by colonization agreements.

## LAND GRANTS TO RAILWAYS

Commencing in 1881 with a land grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway of 25,000,000 acres, the policy of subsidizing Railways by grants of Dominion Lands was continued until 1894, since when no such grants have been made.

At first, apart from the special grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the subsidies consisted of 3800 acres per mile of railway built, but, in a few years, this was increased to 6400 acres per mile of railway, which became the standard grant.

In the three Prairie Provinces a total acreage of 31,851,418 was earned in the way of Land Subsidies by Railway Companies, of which 30,957,269 acres have been patented, leaving a total area of 894,149 acres still due Railway Companies, the selection and allocation of which may be made in any and all of the three Provinces.

The subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway of 25,000,000 acres was granted as the work of construction proceeded, at the rate of 12,500 acres per mile for the first 900 miles of the central section; 16,666,66 per mile for the second 450 miles of the central section, and 9,615 acres per mile for the eastern section.

It was specified that the grant would be made in alternate sections of 640 acres each, extending back 24 miles deep on each side of the railway from Winnipeg to

Jasper House in-so-far as such lands were vested in the Government,- the Company receiving the sections bearing uneven numbers; and it was provided that, if any of such alternate sections were not fairly fit for settlement, the Company would have the right to select, in substitution therefor, other lands in the fertile belt between parallels 49 and 57 degrees of north latitude, in alternate sections extending back 24 miles deep on each side of the Railway; and further, the Company might, with the consent of the Government, select in North West Territories any tract or tracts not taken up as a means of supplying any deficiency.

## SCHOOL LAND ENDOWMENT

The Dominion Land Act of 1872 set aside Sections 11 and 29 in each Township throughout the extend of the Dominion Lands in Manitoba and the North West Territories, and when lands so set aside were found to have been settled upon and improved, the Secretary of State was empowered to select an equal quantity of land in the Township concerned and set same apart for educational purposes.

Such lands set apart were to be dealt with in such manner as might be prescribed by law.

The Dominion Lands Act, 42 Vic. (1879). Chap. 31, provided that:-

(1) School lands shall be administered by the

Governor in Council, through the Department of the Interior.

(2) All sales to be made by public auction at upset price not less than fair value of corresponding unoccupied lands in the Township in which such lands are situated.

(3) The terms of sale were - one-fifth in cash at time of sale, and the remainder in nine equal successfive annual instalments, with interest at six per cent per annum to be paid with each instalment, on the balance or purchase money from time to time remaining unpaid.

(By the Dominion Lands Act Consolidated, 1883, the said instalments were changed from nine to four.)

(4) Provided also, that all moneys from time to time realized from the sale of school lands shall be invested in Dominion securities, and the interest arising therefrom after deducting the cost of management, shall be paid annually to the government of the Province or Territory within which such lands are situated towards the support of public schools therein.

Dominion Lands Act 43 Vic. (1880), Chap. 26, Sec. 3, added:

"Provided further that should any school lands be intersected by the Canadian Pacific Railway, or by any government Colonization Railway, and it should be expedient to secure such lands for a town plot or other public purposes, such lands may by the Governor in Council be transferred and dealt with as Railway lands to be laid out and sold by the Minister of the Interior by public auction or otherwise, as he may deem expedient,- the School lands fund for any lands so taken, at a rate per acre equal to the highest price at which ordinary lands may be sold in the same Township."

SCHOOL LANDS SOLD AS GRAZING LANDS

Act 60-61 Vic. Chap. 29. Provided that the Governor in Council --

"May authorize the sale to any former lessee of a Grazing Ranch in the North West Territories, whose lease was, with other similar leases, determined pursuant to the provisions of an Order in Council of 12th October, 1892, and who was thereby given permission to purchase up to ten per cent of his leasehold at $2.00 per acre (subsequently reduced to $1.25 per acre by Order in Council of 22nd. April, 1893) as part of such ten per cent any school lands comprised in the lease-hold, upon equivalent school lands being set aside elsewhere."

## LANDS GRANTED TO COLONIZATION COMPANIES

By Order in Council of 23rd December, 1881, provision was made for the sale of lands to individuals or corporations for Colonization purposes, under two different Plans as follows:-

Plan No. 1. Agreements may be entered into with any company or person (hereinafter called the party) to colonize and settle tracts of land on the following conditions:

(a) The party applying must satisfy the Government of its good faith and ability to fulfil the stipulations contained in these regulations.

(b) The tract of land granted to any party shall be in Class D.

The odd-numbered sections within such tract may be sold to the party at $2.00 per acre payable, one-fifth in cash at the time of entering into the contract, and the balance in four equal instalments from and after that time. The party shall also pay to the government five cents per acre for the survey of land pruchased by it, the same payable in four equal annual instalments at the same time as the instalments of the purchase money. Interest at the rate of six percent, per annum shall be charged on all past due instalments.

a. The party shall, within five years from the date of the date of the contract, colonize its tract.

b. Such colonization shall consist in placing two settlers on homesteads on each even-numbered section, and also two settlers on each odd-numbered section.

c. The party may be secured for advances made to settlers on homesteads according to the provisions of the 10th section of the Act. 44 Vic. Chap. 16 -- (the Act passed in 1881 to amend the Dominion Land Acts).

d. The homestead of 160 acres shall be the property of the settler, and he shall have the right to purchase the pre-emption lot belonging to his homestead at $2.00 per acre, payable in one sum at the end of three years from the date of entry, or at such earlier date as he may under the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act obtain a patent for his homestead.

e. When the settler on a homestead does not take entry for pre-emption lot to which he has a right, the party may within three months after the settlers' right has elapsed purchase the same at $2 per acre, payable in cash at the time of purchase.

Consideration of having colonized its tract of land in the manner set forth in sub-section b of the last preceding clause, the party shall be allowed a rebate of one-half the original purchase-money of the odd-numbered sections in its tract.

a. During each of the five years covered by the contract an enumeration shall be made of the settlers place by the party in its tract, in accordance with sub-section b of clause 9 of these regulations and for each bona fide settler so found therein a rebate of one hundred and twenty dollars shall be credited to the party; but the sums so credited shall not, in the aggregate, at any time exceed one hundred and twenty dollars for each bona fide settler found within the tract, in accordance with the said sub-section, at the time of the latest enumeration.

b. On the expiration of the five years an enumeration shall be made of the bona fide settlers on the tract, and if they are found to be as many in number and placed in the manner stipulated for in sub-section b of clause 9 of these regulations a further and final rebate of forty dollars per settler shall be credited to the party, which sum, when added to those previously credited, will amont to one-half of the purchase money of the odd-numbered sections and reduce the price thereof to one dollar per acre. But if it should be found that the full number of settlers required by these regulations are not on the tract, or are not placed in conformity with sub-section b of clause 9 of these regulations, then for each settler fewer than the required number, or not placed in conformity with the said subsection the party shall forfeit one hundred and sixty dollars of rebate.

c. If at any time during the existence of the contract the party shall have failed to perform any of the conditions thereof, the Governor in Council may cancel the sale of the land purchased by it, and deal with the party as may seem meet under the circumstances.

d. To be entitled to rebate, the party shall furnish to the Minister of the Interior evidence that will satisfy him that the tract has been colonized and settled in accordance with sub-section b of clause 9 of these regulations.

Plan Number Two

To encourage settlement by capitalists who may desire to cultivate larger farms than can be purchased where the regulations provide that two settlers shall be placed on each section, agreements may be entered into with any company or person (hereinafter called the party) to colonize and settle tracts of land on the following conditions:

a. The party applying must satisfy the Government of its good faith and ability to fulfil the stipulations contained in these regulations.

b. The Tract of land granted to any party shall be in class D.

c. All lands within the tract may be sold to the party at two dollars per acre, payable in cash, at the time of entering into the contract. The party shall, the same time, pay to the Government five cents per acre for the survey of the land pruchased by it.

d. The party shall, within five years from the date of the contract, colonize the township or townships comprised within its tract.

e. Such colonization shall consist in placing one hundred and twenty eight bona fide settlers within each township.

In consideration of having colonized its tract of land in the manner set forth in sub-section e of the last preceding clause, they party shall be allowed a rebate of one half of the original purchase money of its tract.

a. During each of the five years covered by the contract, an ennumeration shall be made of the settlers place by the party in its tract, in accordance with sub-section e of clause 11 of these regulations, and for each bona fide settler so found therein a rebate of one hundred and twenty dollars shall [illegible] repaid to the party; but the sums so repaid shall not, in aggregate, at any time exceed one hundred and twenty dollars for each bona fide settler found within the tract, in accordance with the said sub-section of the time of the latest enumeration.

b. On the expiration of the five years, an enumeration shall be made of the bona fide settlers placed by the party in its tract, and if they are found to be as many in number and placed in the manner stipulated for in sub-section e of clause 11 of these regulations a further and final rebate of forty dollars per settler shall be repaid, which sum when added to one-half of the purchase money of its tract and reduce the price there-of of one dollar per acre. But if it should be found that the full number of settlers required by these regulations are not on the tract, or are not placed in conformity with the said sub-section then for each settler fewer than the required number or not settled in conformity with the said sub-section, the party shall forfeit one hundred and sixty dollars of rebate.

c. To be entitled to rebate, the party shall furnish to the Minister of the Interior evidence that will satisfy him that the tract has been colonized and settled in accordance with sub-section e of clause 11 of these regulations.

As respects Alberta only three Corporations took advantage of these regulations, namely:

The Edmonton & Saskatchewan Land Company
The Fertile Belt Western Agricultural Co
The Homestead Company.

Not one of them fully carried out their contract with the Government, and following a general plan of settlement adopted by the Government they were settled with as follows:

Edmonton & Saskatchewan Land Company.

| | |
|---|---|
| Area set apart | 114,766 acres. |
| Area sold...... | 57,838 " |
| Money paid..... | $ 25,210. |
| Amount of rebates | 25,220 |
| Total amount credited | 50,430 |
| Final settlement | 25,215 acres |

The Fertile Belt Western Agricultural Co.

| | |
|---|---|
| Area set apart | 20,480 acres. |
| " sold | 10,240 " |
| Money paid | $ 18,432 |
| Final settlement | 18,432 in scrip. |

The Homestead Company

| | |
|---|---|
| Area set apart | 491,746 acres. |
| " sold | 245,873 " |
| Money paid | $ 156,215 |
| Rebates | 119,200 |
| Total amount credited | 275,415 |
| Final settlement | 119,200 acres<br>and $32,000 in scrip. |